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An Historical Relation of The Island Ceylon in the East Indies

Robert Knox

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AN HISTORICAL RELATION OF THE ISLAND CEYLON IN THE EAST INDIES

ROBERT KNOX

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INTRODUCTION

"I have writ nothing but either what I am assured of by my own personal knowledge to be true, and wherein I have born a great and sad share, or what I have received from the Inhabitants themselves of such things as are commonly known to be true among them". —

Robert Knox. **The Epistle Dedicatory.** March 18, 1681.

Robert Knox, that staid and sturdy Puritan soul who spent nearly twenty years of instructive detention as the guest of the King of Kandy, the redoubtable Raja Sinha II, in the late seventeenth century has his special niche in the splendid pavilions of Ceylonese history. Perhaps the most forthcoming Anglo-Saxon **detenu** in the modern history of Asia, if not the most illustrious, Knox is certainly the best-known Englishman to visit Sri Lanka. The true story of this Protestant, Bible-toting, humourless, stern-visaged pilgrim in heathen territory, who took refuge in his faith against the enticements of an exotic society has seldom staled down the years. Despite deep-seated prejudices and an artless naivete, he was, nevertheless, the most sympathetic and percipient observer of traditional Sinhalese society at a time when its structure and forms were still alive and pulsating. Even now when that culture is in rapid transition, and lies desolate before the onslaught of vigorous economic and social forces released in the nineteenth century and gathering fresh momentum today, the value of his testimony is inescapable. Age has not exhausted nor custom strained the infinite variety and charm of his famous book published in 1681, which **Sir** Christopher Wren praised for its *"great Truth and Integrity."* The occasion of this notable facsimile reprint of the first edition, two years after its tercentenary, demands a closer look at the circumstances surrounding its initial appearance.

Robert Knox was born in London on 8 February, 1641, the son of a sea-faring Englishman, **Captain** Robert Knox, and a God-fearing and extraordinarily pious mother, Abigail Knox, **nee** Bonnell. He had an elder sister, Abigail, and a younger brother, James. At the age of 14 he went to sea for the first time on his father's new ship, the **Ann,** trading along the Indian coast. He returned to London in 1657, to find his mother had died the previous year. He had already taken to the sea as a calling, despite his father's early protestations, and the refitted **Ann,** under the colours of the English East India Company, sailed on 21 January, 1658, on *"that fatall voiage in which",* says Knox in his autobiography, *"I lost my father & myselfe & the prime of my time for buisness & preferment for 23 years tell Anno 1680".* (**A Historical Relation of Ceylon...** ed. by James Ryan, 1911. p. xxxvi). On the conclusion of this trading venture in India which lasted for over a year, the **Ann,** preparing to return, was severely damaged and dismasted in a cyclone off the coast of South India at Masulipatam on 19 November, 1659. Repairs could only be effected on the tree-studded East Coast of Sri Lanka whither the **Ann** limped. During their stay of between three to four months in Kottiyar Bay, Knox, his father, and sixteen members of the crew were taken prisoner by the King's men in April 1660 and removed to Kandy. How he employed his time during a lonesome and dragging confinement of nineteen and a half years, with fortitude, resource and exemplary self-discipline, is now a celebrated scenario, and needs no embellishment here. His beloved father and pilot of his life died on 9 February 1661, and Knox, then only twenty, remained for another eighteen years, living in four different villages close to Kandy before escaping from the last, Eladetta, on 22 September 1679 and into the hands of the Dutch on 18 October, 1679 at the coastal fort of Arippu. He was taken from Colombo to Batavia arriving on the 15 January, 1680, and started his homeward voyage from Bantam on the **Caesar,** arriving in England in September 1680, almost 23 years after leaving on that ill-fated expedition with his father.

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He had begun to write his *"Booke"* on that voyage home from Bantam, and gives the reasons for desiring to set down the record of his wondrous excursion into the interior landscape of Sinhalese society, in his autobiography. *"3 reasons Induced mee so to doe: first to record God's great mercies in so plentifully sustaining me in the land of myne enimies in despite of those who boath invied & hated me & sent to mee thare his most sacred word the wholy Bible in my owne native language even whare the name of the true God is not known, & after a Detainement of 19 years 6 months & 14 days his providence so disposed of & directed mee to escape thence with the first & conducted me safe whome to my Native Country, all the perticulars thareof ought to be remembred by me to my lives end, for he hath fulfilled to me his promise;... Secondly: that after my death if had died by the way my Relations might know what became of my Father (& how & after what manner the Almighty had dealt with mee) which I could not but thinke they would be glad to be informed of. Thirdly to exercise my hand to wright for in all the time of my Captivity, I had neither pen Inke nor paper & now as a man new borne I came into the world, so made it part of my buisnesse to learne to write & for the afforesaid reasons, thought this would be a fitt subject to employ my pen one, but then intended it noe further".* **(ibid.** pp. xxix-xxx). Modest and discreet to a fault, and also conscious of his lack of learning, publication was furthest from Knox's mind and great persuasion had to be used, as Robert Hooke, his devoted friend, for over twenty years, describes in his revealing, and affectionate Preface. *"'Twas not I confess without the earnest Solicitations and Endeavours of my self, and some others of his obtain'd from him, but his uneasiness with it was not for want of Generosity and Freedom enough in Communicating whatever he knew or had observed, but from that usual Prejudice of Modesty and too mean an Opinion of his own Knowledge and Abilities of doing anything should be worthy the view of the Publick"* **(ibid.** p.xlvi). And *"this"*, in Knox's own words, *"is the true cause how my Scribled papers came to be published in print which at the wrighting heere of I never thought worthy troubling the world with"* **(ibid.** p. xxi).

The first and most renowned book on Sri Lanka in the English language was duly published in August 1681, and became an instant success in Knox's lifetime, and plans for a second enlarged edition were afoot a few years before Knox died at the ripe old age of nearly eighty on 19 June 1720. His long and extraordinary captivity in Sri Lanka did not deter him, at the age of forty, from undertaking at least five more voyages to the East in the service of the East India Company, in which showing the flag, commerce, slave trading and congenial exploits of piracy and plunder were natural concomitants of the expansion of European dominance in Asia and Africa. In the rise of capitalism at home or abroad, religion, however Puritanical, provided little curb and less guidance, and Knox's own moral scruples and religious values offered apparently no resistance to the staple patterns of his profession. He concluded his last voyage when he was almost sixty years of age, and for the next twenty years till his death settled in Wimbledon, writing and ruminating on a life over which he had no reason to doubt the benisons of his God had been liberally bestowed. But his grand encounter with the island of Sri Lanka and its people remained the highwater mark of his career and imagination, and the growing interest in his book was to sustain his waning years. In 1708 he is purring in his autobiography, *"my booke of Ceylon hath found such acceptance of this present generation that all the bookes that were printed are bought up & many more would have bin bought if were to be had"* **(ibid.** p. 412). He lived long enough to bask in the well-deserved popularity of his book, *"it being ye onely thing will keepe my name in memory in ye world"*. (Letter to John Strype. 5 Oct. 1713. **Captain Robert Knox;** by D.W. Ferguson. 1896-97 p. 53.

It is necessary for a true understanding of the man and his book that we retrace the fascinating trail of its publication and later history with a keener eye. As we have seen, Knox escaped to the Dutch on the 18th October 1679. He sailed from Bantam on 21 February, 1680 and arrived in England apparently on 6 September, 1680. The statement in the introductory pages of his autobiography, *"In my passage to England from Bantam, in Anno 1679 I wrote this Booke,"* (**A Historical Relation of Ceylon...**ed by James Ryan. 1911. p. xxx) is inaccurate, and

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a 16-year delay in putting down the record may have played tricks with his memory. But it is quite clear that he began to fashion his remarkable tale on this long voyage back to his country which he had left on that ill-fated journey in the **Ann** nearly 23 years earlier. The book was published within a year of his return, in August 1681; and it is not absolutely certain whether Knox had already left as Captain of the **Tonquin Merchant** for the Far East, before its publication, or very soon after. Early in 1681 the Couut of Committees of the East India Company had evinced keen interest in his papers, and recommended their publication, *"and by the assistance of my Cousen John Strype a Minister who composed it into heads and Chapters for my papers were promiscuous and out of forme woth several inlargements one such heads as I had but touched briefly which then my memory was fit to doe haveing the very Idea or representation of what I wrote so perfectly in my kind, by my longe detainment and conversation thare as if they had bin visible to my sight and so it came to the booke you see"* **ibid.** p. xxx). Apart from the valuable assistance of his cousin Strype, to whom he was quite obviously deeply attached to judge from the correspondence over many years, he was also greatly idebted to that remarkable man Robert Hooke (1635-1703), who, as Secretary to the Royal Society from 1677-1682, interviewed Knox soon after his arrival in London, and became interested in the manuscript of his remarkable adventure in Ceylon. His continuing interest in the publication of the work culminated in the affectionate and laudatory Preface to the book. It is very probable that Hooke edited the whole work prior to printing, correcting the spelling and polishing the language, for to judge by Knox's letters and manuscript writings, it is unlikely that the text as it finally appeared was his own unaided work. In any case, the close friendship of Hooke, who possessed a prolific and indefatigable mind, and an omnivorous appetite for intellectual inquiry, must have provided a stimulating source of encouragement to Knox at the time he was preparing *"my Scribled papers"* for the press. On 18 March 1681 he presented his manuscript to the East India Company for their approbation, and, on this being secured, lost no time in finding a publisher, in Richard Chiswell, Printer to the Royal Society. The copyright had evidently been sold to Chiswell to judge from a statement in the Autobiography: *"I thinke fitt to incert this follwing Clause, vizt. that when I sold the Coppie of this Booke to Mr. Rich. Chiswell,Senr., I gave him my Bond that neither my selfe nor any for me should ever reprint the same"* (1911 ed., p. 433). Printed it was, in the short space of four months, and Knox was able to offer his work again in its new dress, complete with illustrations, to the Court of Committees of the East India Company on 1 August 1681. The process of publication was hastened in the next few days with Sir Christopher Wren, President of the Royal Society, setting his seal of approval on publication, on 8 August 1681, and the Court of Directors of the East India Company providing its imprimatur two days later. It has not been possible as yet for the writer to discover how many copies were printed and the price it was sold at. But it is clear that there was an avid readership for the book, and the importunings of Chiswell for a revised and enlarged second edition, soon after the favourable reception of the first, were a clear index to its popularity. Hooke's preface, dated 1 August 1681, afforded ample and glowing testimony to the great merits of this close and elaborate account, by a sensitive, dependable, resourceful and sympathetic observer wielding a fascinating narrative style, of an exotic Eastern society, and its natural features. The following passage from his preface foreshadows the sentiments expressed in verse on 30 December 1695 at the foot of the portrait engraving of Knox by Richard White — *"this Generous Example of Captain Knox who though he could bring away nothing almost upon his Back or in his Purse, did yet Transport the Whole Kingdom of Conde Uda in his Head, and by writing and publishing this his Knowledge, has freely given it to his Country, and to You Reader in particular."*

There is little doubt that the publication of the first edition of Knox's curious and remarkable book in 1681, with the blessings of the Royal Society and the approbation of his employers, the East India Company, proved an immediate and popular success. The author, however, sailed away, as master of the **Tonquin Merchant,** on a two-year voyage to the Far East, almost as soon as the book was

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published probably with a copy of the first edition in his personal luggage. On his return at the end of August 1683, he found himself famous. Among his readers had been the royal sybarite, Charles II, and a letter from his cousin James Bonnell to John Strype dated 12 December 1683 refers to his interview with the King, a great honour indeed. *"Cos. Knox has been with ye K-, & had an hours discourse, many flocking about to hear it, wch will help Mr. Chizwel* **(sic)** *off with some copies. Mr Hook* **(sic)** *persuades my Cosen to make some additions, & he will furnish him wth heads, wch wth a new title page & his pictur, will pass for a 2nd Edition. Mr. Ch. (iswell) was present at ye debate, & thout well of it. This yo may take from my Cos. in shorthand, in one or two nights being at your hous".* (D.W. Ferguson **Captain Robert Knox** 1896-97, p. 32). Thus was Chiswell fired to bring out a second revised and enlarged edition as early as two years after the publication of the first. The letter also is revealing of the support and advice of both Robert Hooke and John Strype, his Cousin, in the editing and supervision of Knox's writings. Hooke remained a warm friend till his death on 2 March 1703, Knox being the only person at his bedside when he died, while Strype continued his interest in the book up to Knox's death in 1720. In 1708 Knox notes in his manuscript autobiography: *Since my booke of Ceylone hath found such acceptance of this present generation that all the bookes that were printed are bought up & many more would have bin bought if were to be had, & also that it hath been translated into Dutch & french gives me cause to thinke that hereafter some may inquire or wish to know what became of the Author after his escape from Ceylone..."* **(An Historical Relation of Ceylon ...** ed. by James Ryan, 1911, p. 412). A typical best-selling author's pride and lament are reflected in this characteristically unemotional statement. By 1693, four imprints in French, German and Dutch in that order had appeared, and in 1705, John Harris paid Knox's narrative the deserved compliment of including it in digest form in the first edition of his massive compilation of travels. Knox strangely enough, seemed to have been unaware both of the black-letter German edition of 1689 in Leipzig, and Harris's recognition of the popularity of the work in English. That thoughts of a second enlarged edition were close to the author's mind are indicated in a revealing letter to Strype, written from London, where he lodged, on the 5 October 1713: *"Cousen: the first voiage I went to sea after my booke of Ceylon was printed, Mr. Chiswell gave me a booke interleaved with a blanke leafe, & desired me to make additions there one, which I did & at my coming home returned it to him againe, some time before his death, he sent me ye same booke againe, desiring me to peruse it a second time, for he intended to reprint it which I did & made many more Aditions, & returned him his booke againe, & lately his man yt has his coppies, brought ye booke againe to me, desiring me once more to look it over for now he intended to reprint it, & wholy at leasure I did dilligently review the whole book, and made many more Additions, finding nothing to alter, either in ye print: or maniscript yt I had made only ye King poysoning his Son: in for. 46 I wish I could have seene you here, to have had your Judgment one my Additions, which are onely historical, & matter of fact, not fitt, so to be crowded into a new impression, the methodizing thare of being beyound my Capasity, so yt I have fully finished all yet I intend in yt booke in wch I have bin ye more dilligent, it being ye onely thing will keepe my name in memory in ye World"* (D.W. Ferguson **Captain Robert Knox.** 1896-97 p. 53). This is the most revelatory indication of Knox's intentions for a second edition and his notes in the interleaved copy, and by this time he must have been beginning to be optimistic of the publication of a second edition in the near future. Now that Hooke had died in 1703, his dependence on his clerical cousin for revision and preparation is also apparent. Normally modest and discreet, he also lets slip his quite unabashed pride in authorship, having yearned from a young age to become versed in writing— in the event a most remarkable prediction! Plans for printing must have been in the offing, for we find Knox writing to Strype again from London on 5 February 1714: *"And also I thanke you for ye amendments you made to my Epistoll Dedecatory, but I hoped you would have added a beginning and ending to it as I wanted, & also what you say should be added to Sr Rich* **(Sir Richard Child, second son of Sir Josiah Child, Knox's benefactor in the East India**

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Company on his return in 1680) *himselfe, I dedecate, it to him for his fathers sake, & I know not what I can add as to himselfe, however thare is time enough, for they have not began to print by reason paper is very deere, wch they hope will be cheiper"* **(ibid.** p. 53). The last mention of this interleaved copy of his book, so near and yet so far from publication, is found in a letter dated 8 January, 1717 to Strype, also from London. *"I thanke you for your Kindnesse, but whatever Midwinter may be I beleeve his pertener wants money, by obiecting paper is very Deare, did not he object to you as he hath done to others yt in my new additions I have wrot things twice over: wch cannot make ye things to be ye Lesse true: tho may show ye infirmity of my age"* **(ibid.** p. 54). The plaintive tone of his references to the obstacles holding up the printing of the second edition, the manuscript of which was quite obviously in the publisher's hand, are reminiscent of a present-day author's plight in the diminishing world of current printing and publishing, afflicted by shortages of paper and the high cost of materials. After Chiswell's death, his business appears to have been taken over by Daniel Midwinter at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, Chiswell's old place. Midwinter was one of the three publishers of John Harris's **Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca...** of which the first edition had appeared, with the Knox digest, in 1705, thus making it all the more inexplicable that Knox makes no references in his writings to this only English reprint (however meagre) in his lifetime. That Midwinter, who must have encouraged Knox (and is obviously the *"man yt has his coppies"* of the 5 October, 1713 letter) after Chiswell's death, was not the villain of the piece, but his partner, is made clear in the letter. The latter was clearly disturbed by the volume of the additional materials to be incorporated, as well as their repetitive nature, and Knox admits that his advancing years — he was now seventy-six and approaching death — may have something to do with the complaint. Perhaps if Hooke was alive the necessary revisions and proper amalgamation of the supplementary notes with the old text may have been achieved to the satisfaction of Midwinter's partner. Knox was in poor health and in decline till his death on 19 June 1720 in the Parish of St. Peter le Poor, and the publication of the second edition was lost sight of in this period, as there is no further reference to it in the few letters of these last years to his favourite cousin and correspondent, Strype. In his last will and testament dated 30 November 1711, and *"Approved and Confirmed againe"* for the last time on 4th April 1720 shortly before his death, he appointed Edward Lascelles, his nephew, as sole executor. There is no mention of this inter-leaved copy for a second edition in the meticulous ordering and dispensation of his estate, though *"all my bookes and papers, boath written and printed (Ceylon Excepted)"* were left to Lascelles. The other copy of his book containing the manuscript memoirs (*"my Booke of Ceylon with Maniscripts of my owne Life"*) was bequeathed to Knox Ward, another nephew, and it is this copy which was, 180 years later, discovered in the Bodleian. It is clear that he had no jurisdiction over the inter-leaved copy, as he had sold the copyright to Chiswell, as we have seen, and, in any case, the copy was in the hands of the publisher, awaiting the decision to print for a second edition. Its subsequent fate until it came to the British Museum Library in the eighteen-nineties is covered im mystery. All that is known is that Sir A.W. Franks, a former Keeper of the Department of Ethnography, in the British Museum, had presented it in the last years of the 19th century to the Christy Library, where it was discovered and identified by H.J. Braunholtz, a later Keeper of the same Department. Its existence, both before and after discovery, was unknown to students and scholars, especially those interested in Ceylon, as its presence was not recorded in either the general or special catalogues in the Library, or any of the published catalogues of the British Museum. News of its existence leaked out when the Hakluyt Society decided to publish it in their scholarly series of travels, presumably after its identity had been established and confirmed, and assigned its discoverer H.J. Braunholtz and the retired Ceylon Government Archivist, Mr. J.H.O. Paulusz, to undertake the preparation of the manuscript. This was in 1955 or so, and, each year thereafter, the **Annual Report and Statement of Accounts** of the Hakluyt Society carried the news that this work was *"in active preparation"*. Braunholtz died a few years after commencing the

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project, and the editing devolved on Paulusz alone. On inquiry in May 1975, the Society had expressed the hope that the work *"will be published within the next two years"*. This optimism was based on the knowledge that *"the footnotes are at present being typed"*, signifying an end to the arduous work of editing. It is disappointing to report that the Society appears to have decided, more recently, to abandon the publication for reasons which have not been made clear. This is a sad blow for all lovers of Knox who had patiently awaited, for nearly three decades, the publication of this definitive edition, as it was likely to shed a great deal of new light on some of the remaining enigmas of Knox's captivity, documentary flair, and astonishing capacity for observation.

The additional material in Knox's hand, over a period of years stretching from around late 1681 to 1714 is contained in about 100 folio leaves, closely written on, and bound into a copy of the first edition. There are also some marginal notes as well as some corrections of the printed text. In two manuscript passages, signed by Knox and dated 10 December 1695, and 7 August 1713 he states that he had carefully perused and diligently reviewed the whole of the text and manuscript three times, and has nothing further to add or alter. It is clear that no further additions or revisions were done after this date, as the correspondence with Strype also confirms. The supplementary notes amount to approximately 40% of the printed text. Their value and interest are quite significant, and of considerable substance, and, in conjunction with the autobiography, should serve to round off the picture of a quite remarkable Englishman, who left so enduring a document of seventeenth-century Ceylon.

The Bodleian copy of the first edition of Knox's work, which is the identical copy bequeathed to his nephew Knox Ward, Clarencieux King of Arms, referred to in his will as follows: *"my Booke of Ceylon with Maniscripts of my owne Life"*, has 6 pages of manuscript additions before the title page, and 127 pages of similar additions at the end of the printed matter, all written by Knox himself. There are also a few notes by him in the margins of the letter press. There is also a reproduction of the portrait engraved by Richard White in 1695. The manuscript portions, which comprise the autobiography, were written for the most part in 1696 when Knox was 56 years old, and again at various periods between 1697 and 1711. The six pages of manuscript at the beginning of the volume are dated 19 June 1696. The manuscript autobiography is bound up with the copy of the first edition, and these pages are referred to by Knox as *"severall remarkeable passages of my life that hath hapned since my deliverance out of my Captivity..."* This precious copy lay unknown and ignored until the painstaking investigations of Donald Ferguson led to its discovery in the Bodleian Library in October 1900. Knox Ward died intestate on 30 September, 1741. Eight years later his library was sold at auction and lot 451 *"Knox's history of Ceylon, with MSS additions, 1681"* was acquired by that omnivorous collector Dr. Richard Rawlinson, who later bequeathed it to the Bodleian. It came to the Library in 1755, along with the rest of the vast and multifarious Rawlinson collection which the small library staff found too much to handle. Sir Edmund Craster, Bodley's Librarian from 1931-1945, had this to say of it; *"a collection so extensive that it had swamped the meagre staff, and that, for a century to come, large parts of it lay unsorted in cupboards and obscure hiding-holes"*. **(History of the Bodleian Library, 1845-1945'** Clarendon Press, 1952. p. 15). In the case of Knox's manuscript autobiography this neglect seems to have lasted for nearly a century and a half, but though it was not formally referenced and catalogued until 1912, it had been discovered by Cuthbert Shields of Corpus Christi College, Oxford in October 1900. In the Bodleian Library copy of Donald W. Ferguson's **Captain Robert Knox** (1896-1897), Bodley's Librarian at the time, E.W.B. Nicholson, had fastened a slip which reads: *"Knox's Historical relation inter-leaved with his notes is fol△623. MS. Rawl. Q.c. 15 ex relatione Cuthbert Shields 27 Oct. 1900 E.W.B.N."*. Shields himself, in an anonymous article: *"The first century of the East India Company"* **Quarterly Review**, vol. 193, Jan. 1901, pp. 44-74, mentioned his discovery in a footnote on p. 63, *"The long-missing additional notes, written in later life by Knox on his adventures and experiences, have recently been discovered in the*

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Bodleian, fol. 623". C.S. Vaughan in his manuscript notes refers to *"9 pages of MS additions before the title page, and 129 pages of similar additions at the end of the printed matter."* In the only published version of the autobiography, (Glasgow, 1911) the editor, James Ryan, refers to the incorrectly numbered pages, and gives both incorrect and correct numbering of the original manuscript. At the tip of the second leaf occur the words (not in Knox's hand) *"Liber olim Knox Ward armig Clarencieux Armorum Rex".* This is undoubted proof that this is the identical copy bequeathed by Knox to his nephew. In a letter to John Strype dated *"London, 8th Jan. 1717",* Knox reveals that his autobiographical passages were prompted by Oliver Cromwell's third daughter Mary, who married Viscount Fauconberg. *"It was by ye advice of my Lady Fauconbridge (Oliver Croumbwells Daughter) yt I wrot ye passages of my Life, wch she urged with this Reason viz. that God's providence had bin so remarkabbly over me one Ceylon, it would be wished by many to know how his providence disposed of me afterwards, which I think hath bin as remarkably as ye former: which now layes by me, and if after my Death should be printen I beleeve would out sell a second edition of ye former"* (D.W. Ferguson **Captain Robert Knox** (1896-97) p. 54). This manuscript autobiography was edited and reproduced by James Ryan in the 1911 edition of Knox's book, and this remains the only published version up to now, apart from the reprint of the first six introductory pages only (photolithographically reproduced from the 1911 edition) in the **Ceylon Historical Journal** reprint of Knox's book in 1958. The marginal notes by Knox in the printed text of the first edition were not reproduced by Ryan in the 1911 edition, however, due to an oversight by the publisher, but were supplied by Ryan in an article in **Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register** Vol. 3, no. 4, April 1918.

Some comments on the intriguing illustrations, the remarkable map and the later portrait in this celebrated book, the most highly prized item in the antiquarian literature of Sri Lanka, are apposite here.

The 17 illustrations are from copper-plate engravings and though not great examples of artistic draughtmanship, the drawings in their spare and solid dignity successfully match the austere and unadorned letter-press, and the homespun and unpretentious style of the narrative. The drawings are unsigned and the name of the artist is unknown. That they are not the work of Knox is clear from his attempts at sketching, in the inter-leaved copy in the British Museum Library. It is curious that, considering their number and seeming veracity and deceptive accuracy of delineation, neither Knox nor Hooke mention the name of the artist in the Epistles Dedicatory or Preface, or anywhere else in their writings. Donald Ferguson conjectured without any proof, that it may have been his younger brother James Knox, an artist who died on 23 March 1681 about six months after his brother returned to England (**Captain Robert Knox** (1896-97) pp. 26 and 28). The *"Graver"* mentioned in Knox's second Epistle Dedicatory may well have been Chiswell's house artist-draughtsman, who followed the author's word pictures as faithfully as he could. There is no evidence that Knox personally stood over the artist's drawing board. Not having seen his subjects, the artist, however praiseworthy, and sometimes delightful his drawings, failed to do justice to Knox's instructions, and while the animals were near caricatures the human subjects are obviously based on more familiar European models. These illustrations were imitated, adapted, or elaborated upon in later editions and translations of Knox, until James Ryan reproduced them faithfully in the 1911 edition.

One of the chief glories of the book is the map, and its publication, with its detailed picture of the central highlands, was a notable break-through in Ceylon cartography up to that time. In his treatment of the coastal areas, however, Knox depended heavily on Baldaeus's map (1672), going to the point of even reproducing the general decoration and cartouche framing the title. But Knox was a pioneer in laying bare the inner core of the country, which the Dutch had failed as yet to capture even cartographically. R.L. Brohier and J.H.O. Paulusz in their **Land, maps and surveys,** Vol. 2 (Colombo, 1951) comment on it as follows: *"The maps of Jansson (1657), Baldaeus (1672) and Visscher (1680) record steady advances in knowledge. But it was the publication of Knox's "Historical Relation" in 1681*

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with its full account of the central highlands that transformed the cartography of Ceylon; albeit, in his treatment of the seaboard Knox was content to base himself on the map of Baldaeus even to (the) extent of copying the general decoration and the cartouche in which the title is enclosed". (p. 14). The scales are given in English and French, Spanish and Dutch miles respectively. The boundaries of the Kandyan Kingdom, the Tamil Wanni area, and the Dutch occupied territoral limits are indicated, as well as the places where watches are kept. The route followed by Knox and Stephen Rutland, in their flight from Eladatta to Arippu is given as *"The way of the Authers escape".*

The portrait of Knox by Richard White engraved by White in 1695 for a projected second edition is sometimes found bound up with copies of the first edition. D.W. Ferguson points out that there are three distinct impressions (or variants) of the portrait of Knox drawn when the subject was 54 years old, and these differences are described in great detail.[2] It is the first version which is found in some impressions of the first edition before the title-page. The second impression of the portrait had the moving verse by Robert Hooke (dated 30 Dec. 1895) inserted at the foot of the plinth. This version was found in the Bodleian copy, and was used by Ryan in the 1911 edition as a frontispiece. The third impression had Knox's coat of arms and crest substituted for the earlier map of Ceylon (**a la** Pliny) at the bottom of the portrait. The coat of arms and crest are reproduced in the 1911 edition as a separate illustration.

Knox's book must have appealed instantly to a reading public not yet sated by the flood of literature in the burgeoning field of voyages and travels, which the era of maritime discovery in the 16th and 17th centuries had stimulated. *"Charmed magic casements"* opening on to islands of perpetual summer were greedily sought after, and Knox's narrative must have held its own among them. They provided, in the absence as yet of the novel, an exciting blend of fictional exhilaration, poetic fancy and romantic imagination, laced by descriptions of exotic lands and their authors' adventures in them. All kinds of readers were catered for, and, in Hooke's words again in his Preface, *"He has in this History given you a taste of his observations. In which most Readers, though of very differing Gusts, may find somewhat very pleasant to their Pallat. The Statesman, Divine, Physitian, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanick, Husbandman may select something for their Entertainment. The Philosopher and Historian much more. I believe at least all that love Truth will be pleas'd..."* (**A Historical Relation of Ceylon**... ed. by James Ryan, 1911. pp. xlvi-xlvii).

Knox's book, also, appeared almost at the high tide in Puritan taste, marked by the publication of John Bunyan's **Pilgrim's Progress,** of which the first part had appeared in 1678, and the second in 1684. There are 25 editions of the first part by 1738 and 15 of the second by 1732. Bunyan became as indispensable in every English home, however poor, as the Authorised Version of **The Bible.** The earliest contacts with culture were through **Pilgrim's Progress, The Bible, Paradise Lost** and Defoe's novels, especially **Robinson Crusoe.** They figured in the reading of nearly every self-educated man, and, besides entertaining, had the capacity to enlighten and elevate the mind. They were the inevitable books on the tiny bookshelf of the decent working man for almost a couple of centuries. Knox's **An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies** was in direct line of literary succession on many counts, not the least of them being the strong strain of Protestant devotion which impregnates his text, and the flavour and style of the Bible which influence his narrative method at every turn. The overwhelming piety learned at his mother's knee and his ingrained Puritan equipment kept temptation at bay during his long and tedious incarceration in a society, not distinguished for its overly strait-laced and inflexible sexual mores. Knox's adventure was evidently right down Defoe's street of fiction, fuelled as his imagination was by exploits of travel in far-flung lands. He certainly must have bought and read Knox, may indeed have known him (though Knox's tight-lipped correspondence does not mention Defoe), and quite clearly modelled Robinson Crusoe on him. **Robinson Crusoe** was published in 1719, a year before Knox died. **Captain Singleton,** in which Knox's tale was digested, and the intrepid pirate even

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cast ashore on the island, in the next year. The debt of Defoe to his fellow-Englishman has been well described and analysed in the contributions of A.W. Secord[3] and E.F.C. Ludowyk.[4] Striking testimony to the popularity of Knox's book in his life-time is also provided by the fact that French, German and Dutch translations had appeared in little more than a decade after 1681, and John Harris had immortalised him already in the first edition of his monumental compilation of travels **Navigantium Atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca** in 1705. French and German epitomes had begun to appear not long after Knox's death.

It is fascinating to chart the sustained interest in Knox's work in his life-time and after, and the continuing influence he was to have on writers after Defoe, though in a different way altogether. Beginning with British designs on the island, and its eventual capture and complete subjugation in 1815, future overlords and later compatriots were introduced to a people and country little known, through the work of Knox, and relied for their information and insights on his memorable summation of the Sinhalese ethos and character, and his equally impressive and living picture of their daily life and occupations. Beginning with soldiers like Robert Percival in 1803, prelates like James Cordiner in 1807, scientists like John Davy in 1821, and missionsries like William Martin Harward in the same year, the relation of Knox began to be pillaged in the attempt to furnish nineteenth-century readers of all sorts with delineations of the new jewel in the expanding crown of Empire. The process continued throughout the century in later writings and compilations of authors like Jonathan Forbes (1841), Henry Marshall (1846), Charles Pridham (1849), Henry Charles Sirr (1850), George Barrow (1857) and the imperious James Emerson Tennent (1859). There were lesser writer too, who must have been subconsciously influenced by their reading of Knox. Authors, after 1817, were greatly assisted by the first English reprint of the complete text of Knox by 'Philalethes' (i.e. the Rev. Robert Fellowes) in that year. The last decade of the century was marked by the indefatigable and dedicated researches of the learned Donald William Ferguson in uncovering by dint of patient investigation hitherto unknown details of Knox's life and career, culminating in his **Captain Robert Knox... Contributions to a biography** (1896-97). One must not fail to mention that contemporary anthropologists surveying peasant locate and rural organisation in the interior of Sri Lanka fall back on Knox's account as a periscope in their researches — while modern historians, examining the tides of history in the mediaeval period of the island's story, especially after the coming of the Dutch, still depend on his relation as a guide and outline.

This introduction has drawn heavily on the writer's earlier contribution to Knoxiana, and all readers inclined to pursue the impact of this unpretentious and resourceful Englishman's curious scholarship and its continuing influence are referred to this record.[5] Knox's book is likely to remain a perennial favourite and an evergreen item in Ceyloniana as long as the printed word retains its dominant place, and Navrang is to be congratulated on its enterprise in undertaking to resurrect, in its original form, this unique document, first recommended so warmly, and with intelligence, by two such great contemporaries of the author, as **Sir** Christopher Wren and Dr. Robert Hooke.

H.A.I. Goonetileke

1. Manuscript notes by Vaughan on Knox's autobiography, in Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London. Mss. 3 Case A 67/26/ p. Ryan forestalled Vaughan's own carefully laid plans to edit Knox's autobiography.

2. Ferguson, D.W. The portrait of Captain Robert Knox. **Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon** Vol. 4, No. 2, February 1896, pp. 27-28.

3. Secord, A.W. **Studies in the narrative method of Defoe.** Urbana, Illinois: 1974. 248 p. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 9, no. 1)

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4. Ludowyk, E.F.C. Robert Knox and Robinson Crusoe. **University of Ceylon Review** Vol. 10, no. 3, July 1952, pp. 243-252.

5. Goonetileke, H.A.I. Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom, 1660-1679. **Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities** Vol. 1, no. 2, December 1975, pp. 81-151.

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See Knox's Aspect here by White design'd
Peruse his Book: thou'lt better see his Mind.
Captive, like Iacob's Offspring, long detaind:
Like them at last by Grace he Freedom Gaind.
Parting for Spoils they Ægypts Iewels took.
He Ceylon's left yet (strange) they'r in his Book.
R:K. 30 Dec. 1695.

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AN

Historical Relation

Of the Island

CEYLON,

IN THE

EAST-INDIES:

TOGETHER,

With an ACCOUNT of the Detaining in Captivity the AUTHOR and divers other *Engliſhmen* now Living there, and of the AUTHOR's Miraculous ESCAPE.

Illuſtrated with Figures, and a Map of the ISLAND.

By *ROBERT KNOX*, a Captive there near Twenty Years.

LONDON,

Printed by *Richard Chiſwell*, Printer to the ROYAL SOCIETY, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1681.

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At the Court of Committees for the East-India *Company the* 10th *of* August, 1681.

WE Esteem Captain *Knox* a Man of Truth and Integrity, and that his Relations and Accounts of the Island of *Ceylon* (which some of us have lately Perused in Manuscripts) are worthy of Credit, and therefore encouraged him to make the same Publick.

Robert Blackbourne, Secretary.
By Order of the said Court.

August 8. 1681.

Mr. Chiswell,

I *Perused Capt.* Knox's *Description of the Isle of* Ceylon, *which seems to be Written with great Truth and Integrity; and the Subject being new, containing an Account of a People and Countrey little known to us; I conceive it may give great Satisfaction to the Curious, and may be well worth your Publishing.*

Chr. Wren.

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TO THE

Right Worſhipful

The GOVERNOR, the DEPUTY GOVERNOR, and Four and Twenty Committees of the Honorable the *EAST-INDIA* Company, *Viz.*

Sir *Joſiah Child* Baronet, Governor.
Thomas Papilion Eſq; Deputy.

The Right Honorable *George* Earl of *Berkley*,
Sir *Joſeph Aſhe* Baronet,
Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* Baronet,
Mr. *Chriſtopher Boone*,
Mr. *Thomas Canham*,
Colonel *John Clerke*,
Mr. *John Cudworth*,
John Dubois Eſquire,
Sir *James Edwards* Knight, and Alderman,
Richard Hutchinſon Eſquire,
Mr. *Joſeph Herne*,
Mr. *William Hedges*.
Sir *John Lawrence* Knight, and Alderman,
Mr. *Nathaniel Letton*,
Sir *John Moore* Knight, and Alderman,
Samuel Moyer Eſquire,
Mr. *John Morden*,
Mr. *John Paige*,
Edward Rudge Eſquire,
Mr. *Jeremy Sambrooke*,
Mr. *William Sedgwick*,
Robert Thomſon Eſquire,
Samuel Thomſon Eſquire.
James Ward Eſquire.

Right Worſhipful,

WHat I formerly Preſented you in Writing, having in purſuance of your Commands now ſomewhat dreſs'd by the help of the Printer and Graver, I a ſecond time humbly tender to you. 'Tis I confeſs at beſt too mean a Return for your great Kindneſs to me. Yet I hope you will not deny it

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a favourable Acceptance, ſince 'tis the whole Return I made from the Indies *after Twenty years ſtay there; having brought home nothing elſe but*

(who is alſo wholly at your

London 1*ſt.* of *Auguſt*, 1681.

Service and Command)

ROBERT KNOX.

THE

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THE PREFACE.

HOw much of the preſent Knowledge of the Parts of the World is owing to late Diſcoveries, may be judged by comparing the Modern with the Ancient's Accounts thereof; though poſſibly many ſuch Hiſtories may have been written in former Ages, yet few have ſcaped the Injury of Time, ſo as to be handed ſafe to us. 'Twas many Ages poſſibly before Writing was known, then known to a few, and made uſe of by fewer, and feweſt employ'd it to this purpoſe. Add to this, that ſuch as were written, remain'd for the moſt part Impriſon'd in the Cells of ſome Library or Study, acceſſible to a ſmall number of Mankind, and regarded by a leſs, which after periſhed with the Place or the Decay of their own Subſtance. This we may judge from the loſs of thoſe many Writings mention'd by *Pliny*, and other of the Ancients. And we had yet found fewer, if the *Art of Printing*, firſt Invented about 240 years ſince, had not ſecured moſt that laſted to that time. Since which, that Loſs has been repaired by a vaſt number of new Acceſſions, which beſides the Satisfaction they have given to Curious and Inquiſitive Men by increaſing their Knowledge, have excited many more to the like Attempts, not only of Making but of Publiſhing alſo their Diſcoveries. But I am not ignorant ſtill; that as Diſcoveries have been this way preſerved, ſo many others have been loſt, to the great Detriment of the Publick. It were very deſirable therefore that the Cauſes of theſe and other Defects being known, ſome Remedies might be found to prevent the like Loſſes for the future.

The principal Cauſes I conceive may be theſe;

Firſt, The want of ſufficient Inſtructions (to Seamen and Travellers,) to ſhew them what is pertinent and conſiderable, to be obſerv'd in their Voyages and Abodes, and how to make their Obſervations and keep Regiſters or Accounts of them.

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Next, The want of ſome Publick Incouragement for ſuch as ſhall perform ſuch Inſtructions.

Thirdly, The want of fit Perſons both to Promote and Diſperſe ſuch Inſtructions to Perſons fitted to engage, and careful to Collect Returns; and Compoſe them into Hiſtories; by examining the Perſons more at large upon thoſe and other Particulars. And by ſeparating what is pertinent from what is not ſo, and to be Rejected; who ſhould have alſo wherewith to gratifie every one according to his Performances.

Fourthly, The want of ſome eaſie Way to have all ſuch Printed: Firſt ſingly, and afterwards divers of them together. It having been found that many ſmall Tracts are loſt after Printing, as well as many that are never Printed; upon which account we are much oblig'd to Mr. *Haclute* and Mr. *Purchas*, for preſerving many ſuch in their Works.

Fifthly, The want of taking care to Collect all ſuch Relations of Voyages and Accounts of Countries as have been Publiſhed in other Languages, and Tranſlating them either into *Engliſh*, or (which will be of more general uſe) into *Latin*, the learned Language of *Europe*. There being many ſuch in other Countries hardly ever heard of in *England*.

The Difficulties of removing which Defects is not ſo great but that it might eaſily fall even within the compaſs of a private Ability to remove, if at leaſt Publick Authority would but Countenance the Deſign, how much leſs then would it be if the ſame would afford alſo ſome moderate Encouragement and Reward?

The Royal Society of London *for Improving Natural Knowledge*, has not been wanting in preparing and diſperſing Inſtructions to this end, and is ready ſtill to promote it, if the Publick would allow a Recompence to the Undertakers. The deſirableneſs and facility of this Undertaking may, I hope, in a ſhort time produce the Expedients alſo. In the Interim all means ſhould be uſed, to try what may be obtain'd from the Generoſity of ſuch as have had the Opportunities of knowing Foreign Countries.

There

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There are but few who, though they know much, can yet be perſuaded they know any thing worth Communicating, and becauſe the things are common and well known to them, are apt to think them ſo to the reſt of Mankind; This Prejudice has done much miſchief in this particular as well as in many other, and muſt be firſt remov'd. There are others that are conſcious enough of their own Knowledge, and yet either for want of Ability to write well, or of uſe to Compoſe, or of time to Study and Digeſt, or out of Modeſty and fear to be in Print, or becauſe they think they know not enough to make a Volume, or for not being prompted to, or earneſtly ſolicited for it, neglect to do it; others delay to do it ſo long till they have forgotten what they intended. Such as theſe Importunity would prevail upon to diſcloſe their knowledge, if fitting Perſons were found to Diſcourſe and ask them Queſtions, and to Compile the Anſwers into a Hiſtory. Of this kind was lately produc'd in *High Dutch* a Hiſtory of *Greenland*, by Dr. *Fogelius* of *Hamborough*, from the Information of *Frederick Martin*, who had made ſeveral Voyages to that Place, in the doing of which, he made uſe of the Inſtruction given by the Royal Society.

'Tis much to be wondred that we ſhould to this Day want a good Hiſtory of moſt of our *VVeſt-Indian* Plantations. *Ligon* has done well for the *Barbadoes*, and ſomewhat has been done for the *Summer Iſlands*, *Virginia*, &c. But how far are all theſe ſhort even of the knowledge of theſe and other Places of the *VVeſt-Indies*, which may be obtain'd from divers knowing Planters now Reſiding in *London*? And how eaſie were it to obtain what is Defective from ſome Ingenious Perſons now Reſident upon the Places, if ſome way were found to gratifie them for their Performances? However till ſuch be found, 'tis to be hoped that the kind Acceptance only the Publick ſhall give to this preſent Work, may excite ſeveral other Ingenuous, and knowing Men to follow this Generous Example of Captain *Knox*, who though he could bring away nothing almoſt upon his Back or in his Purſe, did yet Tranſport the whole Kingdom of *Cande Uda* in his Head, and by Writing and Publiſhing this his Knowledge, has freely given it to his Countrey, and to You Reader in particular.

'Twas

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'Twas not I confeſs without the earneſt Solicitations and Endeavours of my ſelf, and ſome others of his Friends obtain'd from him, but this uneaſineſs of parting with it was not for want of Generoſity and Freedom enough in Communicating whatever he knew or had obſerved, but from that uſual Prejudice of Modeſty, and too mean an Opinion of his own Knowledge and Abilities of doing any thing ſhould be worthy the view of the Publick. And had he found leiſure to Compoſe it, he could have filled a much greater Volume with uſeful and pertinent, as well as unuſual and ſtrange Obſervations. He could have inrich't it with a more particular Deſcription of many of their curious Plants, Fruits, Birds, Fiſhes, Inſects, Minerals, Stones; and told you many more of the Medicinal and other uſes of them in Trades and Manufactures. He could have given you a compleat Dictionary of their Language, underſtanding and ſpeaking it as well as his Mother Tongue. But his Occaſions would not permit him to do more at preſent. Yet the Civil Uſage this his Firſt-born meets with among his Countreymen, may 'tis hoped oblige him to gratifie them with further Diſcoveries and Obſervations in his future Travels.

To conclude, He has in this Hiſtory given you a taſt of his Obſervations. In which moſt Readers, though of very differing Guſts, may find ſomewhat very pleaſant to their Pallat. The Stateſman, Divine, Phyſitian, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanick, Husbandman, may ſelect ſomething for their Entertainment. The Philoſopher and Hiſtorian much more. I believe at leaſt all that love Truth will be pleas'd; for from that little Converſation I had with him I conceive him to be no ways prejudiced or byaſſ'd by Intereſt, affection, or hatred, fear or hopes, or the vain-glory of telling Strange Things, ſo as to make him ſwarve from the truth of Matter of Fact: And for his opportunity of being informed, any one may ſatisfie himſelf when he underſtands his almoſt 20 years Abode and Converſe among them. His Skill in the Language and Cuſtoms of the People, his way of Employment in Travelling and Trading over all Parts of the Kingdom; add to this his Breeding till 19 years of Age under his Father a Captain for the *Eaſt-India* Company, and his own Natu-

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ral and acquired parts; but above all his good Reputation, which may be judged from the Employment *That Worſhipful Company* have now freely beſtowed upon him, having made him Commander of the *Tarquin Merchant*, and intruſted him to undertake a Voyage to *Tarquin*.

Read therefore the Book it ſelf, and you will find your ſelf taken Captive indeed, but uſed more kindly by the Author, than he himſelf was by the Natives.

After a general view of the Sea Coaſts, he will lead you into the Country by the Watches, through the Thorney Gates, then Conduct you round upon the Mountains that Encompaſs and Fortifie the whole Kingdom, and by the way carry you to the top of *Hommalet* or *Adam's Peak*; from thoſe he will deſcend with you, and ſhew you their chief Cities and Towns, and paſs through them into the Countrey, and there acquaint you with their Husbandry, then entertain you with the Fruits, Flowers, Herbs, Roots, Plants and Trees, and by the way ſhelter you from Sun and Rain, with a Fan made of the *Talipat-Leaf*. Then ſhew you their Beaſts, Birds, Fiſh, Serpents, Inſects; and laſt of all, their Commodities. From hence he will carry you to Court, and ſhew you the King in the ſeveral Eſtates of his Life; and acquaint you with his way of Governing, Revenues, Treaſures, Officers, Governors, Military Strength, Wars: and by the way entertain you with an account of the late Rebellion againſt him. After which he will bring you acquainted with the Inhabitants themſelves, whence you may know their different Humours, Ranks and Qualities. Then you may viſit their Temples ſuch as they are, and ſee the Foppery of their Prieſts Religious Opinions and Practices both in their Worſhip and Feſtivals, and afterwards go home to their Houſes and be acquainted with their Converſation and Entertainment, ſee their Houſewifery, Furniture, Finery, and underſtand how they Breed and Diſpoſe of their Children in Marriage; and in what Employments and Recreations they paſs their time. Then you may acquaint your ſelf with their Language, Learning, Laws, and if you pleaſe with their Magick & Jugling. And laſt of all with their Diſeaſes, Sickneſs, Death, and man-

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'Twas not I confeſs without the earneſt Solicitations and Endeavours of my ſelf, and ſome others of his Friends obtain'd from him, but this uneaſineſs of parting with it was not for want of Generoſity and Freedom enough in Communicating whatever he knew or had obſerved, but from that uſual Prejudice of Modeſty, and too mean an Opinion of his own Knowledge and Abilities of doing any thing ſhould be worthy the view of the Publick. And had he found leiſure to Compoſe it, he could have filled a much greater Volume with uſeful and pertinent, as well as unuſual and ſtrange Obſervations. He could have inrich't it with a more particular Deſcription of many of their curious Plants, Fruits, Birds, Fiſhes, Inſects, Minerals, Stones; and told you many more of the Medicinal and other uſes of them in Trades and Manufactures. He could have given you a compleat Dictionary of their Language, underſtanding and ſpeaking it as well as his Mother Tongue. But his Occaſions would not permit him to do more at preſent. Yet the Civil Uſage this his Firſt-born meets with among his Countreymen, may 'tis hoped oblige him to gratifie them with further Diſcoveries and Obſervations in his future Travels.

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ral and acquired parts; but above all his good Reputation, which may be judged from the Employment *That Worſhipful Company* have now freely beſtowed upon him, having made him Commander of the *Tarquin Merchant*, and intruſted him to undertake a Voyage to *Tarquin*.

Read therefore the Book it ſelf, and you will find your ſelf taken Captive indeed, but uſed more kindly by the Author, than he himſelf was by the Natives.

After a general view of the Sea Coaſts, he will lead you into the Country by the Watches, through the Thorney Gates, then Conduct you round upon the Mountains that Encompaſs and Fortifie the whole Kingdom, and by the way carry you to the top of *Hommalet* or *Adam's Peak*; from thoſe he will deſcend with you, and ſhew you their chief Cities and Towns, and paſs through them into the Countrey, and there acquaint you with their Husbandry, then entertain you with the Fruits, Flowers, Herbs, Roots, Plants and Trees, and by the way ſhelter you from Sun and Rain, with a Fan made of the *Talipat-Leaf*. Then ſhew you their Beaſts, Birds, Fiſh, Serpents, Inſects; and laſt of all, their Commodities. From hence he will carry you to Court, and ſhew you the King in the ſeveral Eſtates of his Life; and acquaint you with his way of Governing, Revenues, Treaſures, Officers, Governors, Military Strength, Wars: and by the way entertain you with an account of the late Rebellion againſt him. After which he will bring you acquainted with the Inhabitants themſelves, whence you may know their different Humours, Ranks and Qualities. Then you may viſit their Temples ſuch as they are, and ſee the Foppery of their Prieſts Religious Opinions and Practices both in their Worſhip and Feſtivals, and afterwards go home to their Houſes and be acquainted with their Converſation and Entertainment, ſee their Houſewifery, Furniture, Finery, and underſtand how they Breed and Diſpoſe of their Children in Marriage; and in what Employments and Recreations they paſs their time. Then you may acquaint your ſelf with their Language, Learning, Laws, and if you pleaſe with their Magick & Jugling. And laſt of all with their Diſeaſes, Sickneſs, Death, and manner

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ner of Burial. After which he will give you a full account of the Reaſon of his own Going to, and Detainment in the Iſland of *Ceylon*, and Kingdom of *Conde-Uda*. And of all his various Conditions, and the Accidents that befel him there during Nineteen years and an halfs abode among them. And by what ways and means at laſt he made his Eſcape and Returned ſafe into *England* in *September* laſt, 1680.

Aug. 1. 1681.

Robert Hooke.

TO

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To the Right Worſhipful Sir *William Thomſon* Knight, Governor, *Thomas Papillon* Eſquire; Deputy, and the 24 Committees of the Honorable EAST-INDIA Company hereunder Specified, *Viz.*

The Right Honorable *George* Earl of *Berkley*,
The Right Honorable *James* Lord *Chandois*.
Sir *Matthew Andrews* Knight,
Sir *John Bancks* Baronet,
Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* Baronet,
Mr. *Chriſtopher Boone*,
John Bathurſt Eſquire,
Sir *Joſia Child* Baronet,
Mr. *Thomas Canham*,
Collonel *John Clerk*,
Sir *James Edwards* Knight,
Mr. *Joſeph Herne*,
Richard Hutchinſon Eſquire,
James Hublon Eſquire,
Sir *John Lethieullier* Knight,
Mr. *Nathaniel Petton*,
Sir *John Moor* Knight,
Samuel Moyer Eſquire,
Mr. *John Morden*,
Mr. *John Paige*,
Edward Rudge Eſquire,
Daniel Sheldon Eſquire,
Mr. *Jeremy Sambrook*,
Robert Thomſon Eſquire.

Right Worſhipful,

SInce my return home to my Native Countrey of England, after a long and Diſconſolate Captivity, my Friends and Acquaintance in our Converſe together have been Inquiſitive into the State of that Land in which I was Captivated; whoſe Curioſity I indeavour to ſatisfie. But my Relations and Accounts of Things in thoſe Parts were ſo ſtrange and uncouth, and ſo different from thoſe in theſe Weſtern Nations, and withal my Diſcourſes ſeeming ſo Delightful and Acceptable unto them, they very frequently called upon me to write what I knew of that Iſland of Ceilon, and to digeſt it into a Diſcourſe, and make it more Publick; unto which motion I was not much unwilling, partly that I might comply with the Deſires and Councels of my Friends, and chiefly that I might Publiſh and Declare the great Mercy of God to me, and Commemorate before all Men my ſingular Deliverance out of that Strange and Pagan Land, which as often as I think of or mention, I cannot but admire and adore the goodneſs of God towards me, there being in it ſo many notable Footſteps of his ſignal Providence.

I had then by me ſeveral Papers, which during my Voyage homeward from Bantam at leiſure times I writ concerning the King and the Countrey, and concerning the Engliſh there, and

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of my Escape; which Papers I forthwith set my self to Peruse and draw into a Method, and to add what more might occur to my Thoughts of those Matters, which at length I have finished, contriving what I had to relate under four Heads. The first concerning the Countrey and Products of it. The second concerning the King and his Government. The third concerning the Inhabitants, and their Religion and Customs, and the last concerning our Surprize, Detainment and Escape; In all which I take leave to Declare, That I have writ nothing but either what I am assured of by my own personal Knowledge to be true, and wherein I have born a great and a sad share, or what I have received from the Inhabitants themselves of such things as are commonly known to be true among them. The Book being thus perfected, it required no long Meditation unto whom to present it, it could be to none but your selves (my Honoured Masters) by whose Wisdom and Success the East-Indian *Parts of the World are now near as well known, as the Countries next adjacent to us. So that by your means, not only the Wealth, but the Knowledge of those* Indies *is brought home to us. Unto your Favour and Patronage therefore (Right Worshipful) I humbly presume to recommend these Papers and the Author of them, who rejoyceth at this opportunity to acknowledge the Favours you have already conferred on him, and to profess that next unto God, on you depend his Future Hopes and Expectations; being*

Right Worshipful,

Lond. 18*th.* March, $16\frac{80}{81}$.

Your most obliged and most humble

and devoted Servant to be Commanded,

Robert Knox.

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Cleanly

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CHAP. IX.

Of their Lawes and Language.

THeir *Lawes*. *Lands* deſcend. In caſe *Corn* receives dammage by a Neighbours *Cattel*. The loſs of *letting* out Land to Till. The great *Conſideration* for Corn borrowed. A *Debt* becomes double in two years. If the *Debtor* pay not his Debt, he is lyable to be a *Slave* for it. Divers other *Lawes* and *Cuſtomes*. For *deciding* Controverſies. *Swearing* in the *Temples*. The manner of *ſwearing* in *hot Oyl*. How they exact *Fines*. Of their *Language*. *Titles* given to Women according to their *qualities*. *Titles* given to *Men*. No difference between a *Country-man* and a *Courtier* for *Language*. Their *Speech* and manner of *Addreſs* is *courtly* and *becoming*. Their *Language* in their *Addreſs* to the King. *Words* of *form* and *Civility*. Full of *Words* and *Complement*. By whom they *ſwear*. Their way of *railing* and *ſcurrility*. *Proverbs*. Something of their *Grammar*. A *Specimen* of their Words. Their *Numbering*.

CHAP. X.

Concerning their Learning, Aſtronomy and Art Magick.

OF their *Learning*. Their *Books* and *Arts*. How they learn to *write*. How they make and write a *Book*. The Prieſts write Books of *Bonna*. The Kings *Warrants* how wrapped up. They write upon two ſorts of *Leaves*. Their Skill in *Aſtronomy*. Their *Almanacks*. They pretend to know *future* things by the *Stars*. Their *Æra*. Their *Years*, *Months*, *Weeks*, *Days*, *Hours*. How they meaſure their *Time*. Their *Magic*. The Plenty of a Country deſtroyed by *Magic*. Their *Charm* to find out a *Thief*. The way to *diſſolve* this *Charm*. *Inſcriptions* upon Rocks.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Sickneſs, Death and Burial.

THE *Diſeaſes* this Countrey is ſubject to. Every one a *Phyſitian* to himſelf. To *Purge*: To *Vomit*. To heal *Sores*. To heal

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heal an *Impostume*. For an *hurt* in the *Eye*. To cure the *Itch*. The *Caudle* for Lying-in Women. *Goraca*, a Fruit. Excellent at the Cure of *Poyson*. They easily heal the *biting* of *Serpents* by *Herbs*, And *Charms*. But not good at healing *inward Distempers*. They both *bury* and *burn* their *Dead*. They send for a Priest to *pray* for the Soul of the *Departed*. How they *mourn* for the *Dead*. The *nature* of the Women. How they *bury*. How they *burn*. How they *bury* those that dy of the *Small Pox*.

PART IV.

CHAP. I.

Of the reason of our going to Ceylon, *and Detainment there.*

THE subject of this *Fourth Part*. The *occasion* of their coming to *Ceylon*. They were not jealous of the People being very *Courteous*. A Message pretended to the *Captain* from the *King*. The beginning of their *Suspition*. The *Captain* seized and seven more. The *Long-boat men* seized. The *General's craft* to get the *Ship* as well as the *Men*. The *Captains Order* to them on board the *Ship*. The *Captains second Message* to his *Ship*. The *Ships Company* refuse to bring up the *Ship*. The *Captain* orders the *Ship* to depart. The *Lading* of Cloath remained untouched. The probable *reason* of our *Surprize*. The *number* of those that were left on the *Island*. The *Dissauva* departs.

CHAP. II.

How we were carried up in the Country, and disposed of there, and of the Sickness, Sorrow and Death of the Captain.

THey intend to attempt an *Escape*, but are prevented. Their *Condition* commiserated by the People. They are distributed into divers *Towns*. An *Order* comes from the King to bring them up into the Country. How they were *treated* on the way in the *Woods*. And in the *Towns* among the *Inhabitants*. They are brought near *Cande*, and there separated. The *Captain* and his Son and two more quartered together. Parted: How they *fared*: The *Captain* and his Son placed in *Coos-swát*. *Monies* scarce with them. But they had good *Provisions* without it. The *Town* where they were *sickly*. How they passed their time. Both fall *Sick*. Deep grief seizes the *Captain*. Their Sickness continues. Their *Boys* Disobedience adds to their trouble. His *excessive* Sorrow. His *Discourse* and *Charge* to his Son before his *Death*. His *Death*, and *Burial*. The *Place* where he lies. Upon the *Captain's* Death a Message sent from *Court* to his Son.

CHAP. III.

How I lived after my Father's Death. And of the Condition of the rest of the English: and how it fared with them. And of our Interview.

HIs chief *Imployment* is *Reading*: He looseth his *Ague*: How he met with an *English Bible* in that Country: *Struck* into a great *Passion* at the first sight of the *Book*: He casts with himself how to get it: Where the rest of the *English* were bestowed: Kept from one another a good while, but after permitted to see each other: No manner of *Work* laid upon them: They begin to pluck up their hearts: What *course* they took for *Cloths*: Their *Fare*: What *Employment* they afterwards followed: How the *English* domineered: What *Satisfaction* one of them received from a *Potter*. A *scuffle* between the *English* and *Natives*. The *Author* after a year sees his *Countreymen*. Their *Conference* and *Entertainment*. He consults with his Countreymen concerning a *future livelihood*. The difficulty he met with in having his *Rice* brought him *undressed*. He reasons with the People about his *Allowance*. *Builds* him an *House*. *Follows* Business and thrives. Some attempted running away, and were catched. Little encouragement for those that bring back *Run-awayes*.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning some other Englishmen detained in that Countrey.

THe *Persia Merchant-men* Captives before them. *Plundred* by the *Natives*. Brought up to the King. They hoped to have their *liberty*, but were mistaken. A *ridiculous action* of these Men. They had a mind to *Beef*, and how they got it. A passage of their

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their *Courage*. Two of this *Company* taken into *Court*. The One out of favour. His *End*. The other out of Favour. And his *lamentable Death*. The King ſends ſpecial *Order* concerning their *good Uſage*. Mr. *Vaſſal*'s *prudence* upon his Receit of *Letters*. The King bids him read his *Letters*. The King pleaſed to hear of *Englands* Victory over *Holland*. *Private diſcourſe* between the King and *Vaſſal*.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the means that were uſed for our Deliverance. And what happened to us in the Rebellion. And how we were ſetled afterwards.

MEans made to the King for their *Liberty*, Upon which they all meet at the *City*. Word ſent them from the *Court*, that they had their *Liberty*. All ingeneral refuſe the Kings Service. Commanded ſtill to wait at the *Palace*. During which a *Rebellion* breaks out. They are in the midſt of it, and in great danger. The *Rebels* take the *Engliſh* with them, deſigning to engage them on their ſide: But they reſolve neither to meddle nor make. The *day* being turned, they fear the King; but he juſtifies them. They are driven to beg in the High-wayes. Sent into *New Quarters*, and their *Penſions* ſettled again. Fall to *Trading* and have more *freedom* than before.

CHAP. VI.

A Continuation of the Author's particular Condition after the Rebellion.

AT his new *Quarters* builds him another *Houſe*. The People counſel him to *Marry*, which he ſeems to liſten to. Here he lived two years. A *Fort* built near him by the *Dutch*; but afterwards taken by the King. He and three more removed out of that Countrey; and ſettled in a *diſmal* place. A *Comfortable Meſſage* brought hither from the King concerning them. Placed there to puniſh the People for a *Crime*. *Weary* of this Place. By a piece of craft he gets down to his old *Quarters*. Began the world anew the third time. Plots to remove himſelf. Is encouraged to *buy* a piece of *Land*. The *ſituation* and *condition* of it. *Buys* it. Builds an Houſe on it. Leaves *Laggendenny*. Settled at his *new Purchaſe* with three more living with him. Their freedom and Trade. His *Family* reduced to two.

CHAP. VII.

A Return to the reſt of the Engliſh, *with ſome further accounts of them. And ſome further Diſcourſe of the Authors courſe of Life.*

THey confer together about the *lawfulneſs* of *marrying* with the *Native women*. He reſolves upon a *ſingle* life. What *Employments* they follow. The *reſpect* and *credit* they live in. A *Chingulay* puniſhed for beating an *Engliſh* man. An *Engliſh* man preferred at *Court*. Some *Engliſh* ſerve the King in his *Wars*. Who now live *miſerably*. He returns to ſpeak of himſelf. Plots and conſults about an *Eſcape*. A deſcription of his *Houſe*. He takes up a *new* Trade and thrives on it. His *Allowance* paid him out of the Kings *Store-Houſes*.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Author had like to have been received into the Kings Service, and what Means he uſed to avoid it. He meditates and attempts an Eſcape, but is often prevented.

HE voluntarily forgoes his *Penſion*. *Summoned* before the King. Informed that he is to be *preferred* at *Court*: But is reſolved to refuſe it. The anſwer he makes to the *Great Man*: Who ſends him to another *Great Officer*: Stayes in that City expecting his *Doom*. Goes home, but is ſent for again. Having eſcaped the *Court-Service*, falls to his former courſe of life: His *Pedling* forwarded his *Eſcape*. The moſt probable courſe to take was *Northwards*. He and his Companion get three days Journey *Northwards*; But return back again: Often attempt to fly this way, but ſtill hindred. In thoſe *Parts* is bad water, but they had an *Antidote* againſt it. They ſtill improve in the knowledg of the Way. He meets with his *Black Boy* in theſe *Parts*; Who was to guide him to the *Dutch*: But diſappointed. An *extraordinary drought* for three or four years together.

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CHAP. IX.

How the Author began his Escape, and got onward on his way about an hundred miles.

THeir *Last* and *Successful* attempt. The *Way* they went. They design for *Anarodgburro*: Turn out of the way to avoyd the King's *Officers*: Forced to pass thro a *Governours* Yard. The *Method* they used to prevent his *Suspition* of them. Their *danger* by reason of the Wayes they were to pass. They still remain at the *Governors* to prevent suspition. An *Accident* that now created them great fear: But got fairly rid of it. Get away plausibly from the *Governor*. In their way, they meet with a *River*, which they found for their purpose. They come safely to *Anarodgburro*: This *Place* described. The People stand amazed at them. They are examined by the *Governor* of the Place. *Provide* things necessary for their *Flight*. They find it not safe to proceed further this way. *Resolve* to go back to the *River* they lately passed.

CHAP. X.

The Authors Progress in his Flight from Anarodgburro *into the Woods, unto their arrival in the* Malabars *Country.*

THey depart back again towards the *River*, but first take their leave of the *Governor* here. They begin their *Flight*; *Come* to the *River* along which they resolve to go; Which they Travel along by till it grew dark. Now they fit themselves for their *Journey*. Meeting with an *Elephant* they took up for the second Night. The next morning they fall in among *Towns* before they are aware. The fright they are in lest they should be seen. *Hide* themselves in a hollow *Tree*. They get safely over this danger. In that *Evening* they Dress Meat and lay them down to sleep. The next morning they fear *wild Men*, which these *Woods* abound with. And they meet with many of their *Tents*. Very near once falling upon these People. What kind of Travelling they had. Some account of this *River*. *Ruins*. The *Woods* hereabouts. How they secured themselves anights against *wild Beasts*. They pass the *River*, that divides the King's Countrey from the *Malabars*. After four or five days Travel, they come among *Inhabitants*. But do what they can to avoid them. As yet *undiscovered*.

CHAP. XI.

Being in the Malabar *Territories how they encountred two Men, and what passed between them. And of their getting safe unto the* Dutch *Fort. And their Reception there; and at the Island* Manaar, *until their Embarking for* Columbo.

THey meet with two *Malabars*. To whom they relate their *Condition*. Who are courteous to them. But loath to Conduct them to the *Hollander*. In danger of *Elephants*. They overtake another Man, who tells them they were in the *Dutch* Dominions. They arrive at *Arrepa Fort*. The Author Travelled a Nights in these Woods without fear, and slept securely. Entertained very kindly by the *Dutch*. Sent to *Manaar*, Received there by the *Captain* of the *Castle*, Who intended they should Sail the next day to *Jafnipatan* to the *Governor*. They meet here with a *Scotch* and *Irish* Man. The People Flock to see them. They are ordered a longer stay. They Embark for *Columbo*.

CHAP XII.

Their Arrival at Columbo, *and Entertainment there. Their Departure thence to* Batavia. *And from thence to* Bantam; *Whence they set Sail for* England.

THey are wondered at at *Columbo*; ordered to appear before the Governor. Treated by *English* there. They come into the *Governor's* presence. His *State*. Matters the *Governor* enquired of: Who desires him to go with him to *Batavia*. Cloths them, And sends them Money, and a *Chirurgeon*. The Author writes a Letter hence to the *English* he left behind him. The former *Demands* and *Answers* penned down in *Portugueze* by the *Governor's* Order. They Embark

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bark for *Batavia*. Their friendly *Reception* by the *Governor* there; Who furniſhes them with *Cloths* and *Money*; And offers them paſſage in their *Ships* home. Come home from *Bantam* in the *Caſar*.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning ſome other Nations, and chiefly Europeans, *that now live in this Iſland*; Portugueze, Dutch.

Malabars that Inhabit here. Their *Territories*. Their *Prince*. That People how governed. Their *Commodities* and *Trade*. *Portugueze*: Their *Power* and *Intereſt* in this *Iſland* formerly. The great *Wars* between the King and them forced him to ſend in for the *Hollander*. The King invites the *Portugueze* to live in his Countrey. Th i *Privileges*. Their *Generals*. *Conſtantine Sa*. Who loſes a Victory and Stabs himſelf. *Lewis Tiſſera* ſerved as he intended to ſerve the King. *Simon Careé*, of a cruel Mind. *Gaſpar Figazi*. *Splits* Men in the middle. His *Policy*. Gives the King a great Overthrow, loſeth *Columbo*, and taken Priſoner. The *Dutch*. The *occaſion* of their coming in. The King their *implacable Enemy*, and why. The *Damage* the King does them. The *means* they uſe to obtain Peace with him. How he took *Bibligom Fort* from them. Several of their *Embaſſadors* detained by the King. The *firſt Embaſſador* there detained ſince the *Author*'s Remembrance. His *Preferment*, and *Death*. The *next Ambaſſador* dying there, his Body is ſent down to *Columbo* in great State. The *third Ambaſſador*. Gets away by his *Reſolution*. The *fourth* was of a milder Nature. The *fifth* brings a *Lion* to the King as a *Preſent*. The number of *Dutch* there. They follow their *Vice* of *Drinking*. The *Chingulays* prejudiced againſt the *Dutch*, and why.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the French. *With ſome Enquiries what ſhould make the King detain white men, as he does. And how the Chriſtian Religon is maintained among the Chriſtians there.*

The *French* come hither with a *Fleet*. To whom the King ſends *Proviſions*, and helps them to build a *Fort*. The *French Ambaſſador* offends the King. He refuſeth to wait longer for *Audience*. Which more diſpleaſeth him. Clapt in *Chains*. The reſt of the *French* refuſe to dwell with the *Ambaſſador*. The King uſeth means to reconcile them to their *Ambaſſador*. The *Author* acquaints the *French Ambaſſador* in *London*, with the *Condition* of their men. An *Inquiry* into the reaſon of this King's detaining *Europæans*. The Kings gentleneſs towards his *White Soldiers*. They watch at his *Magazine*. How craftily the King corrected their negligence. The Kings inclinations are towards *White men*. The Colour of *White* honoured in this Land. Their *privilege* above the *Natives*. The King loves to ſend for and talk with them. How they maintain *Chriſtianity* among them. In ſome things they comply with the worſhip of the *Heathen*. An old *Roman Catholick Prieſt* uſed to eat of their *Sacrifices*. The King permitted the *Portugueze* to build a Church.

ERRA-

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ERRATA.

Beſides divers Miſpointings, and other Literal Miſtakes of ſmaller moment, theſe are to be amended.

PAge 1. Line 16. after *Parts*, ſtrike out the *Comma*, p. 3. l. 25. for *Oudi pallet* read *Oudi pollat*, p. 7. l. 31. after *they* dele *that*, p. 12. l. 43. for *Ponudecarſo* read *Ponudecars*, p. 13. after *rowling* dele *it*, p. 22. l. 38. for *Out-yards* read *Ortyards*, p. 25. l. 6. for *tarriſh* read *tartiſh*, p. 27. l. 10. for *ſometimes* read *ſome*, p. 29. l. 33. for *Rodgerati* read *Rodgerah*, p. 33. l. 15, 25, 29. for *Radga* in thoſe three lines, read *Raja*, p. 35. l. 12. for *a* read *at*, *Ibid.* l. 51. for *being none* read *none being*, p. 39. l. 1. dele *a*, p. 47. l. 36. for *Ourpungi* read *Oulpangi*, *Ibid.* l. 43 for *Dackini* read *Dackim*, p. 50. l. 16. for *Roterants* read *Roterauls*, *Ibid.* l. 17. after *theſe* read *are*, *Ibid.* l. 24. after *them* read *to*, p. 51. l. 2. after *them* a Semicolon, *Ibid.* Marg. l. 3. for *others* read *theſe*, *Ibid.* l. 18. for *their* read *theirs*, *Ibid.* l. 19. dele *and* *Ibid.* l. 49. for *Courti-Atchila* read *Courli-atchila*, p. 58. l. 30. after *were* read *or were*, p. 62. Marg. l. 1. for *By* read *Pay*, *Ibid.* l. 18. after *ſhooting* add *him*; *Ibid.* Marg. l. 14. for *one* read *once*, p. 69. l. 28. after *lace* dele the Comma, *Ibid.* l. 30. for *Kirinerahs* read *Kinnerahs*, p. 71. l. 3. after *places* add *and*, p. 73. l. 14. dele *they ſay*, *Ibid.* l. 42. for *ward* read *reward*, p. 74. l. 5. dele the Semicolon after *Vehar*, and place it after *alſo*, *Ibid.* l. 27. for *hands* read *heads*, p. 76. l. 23. for *God* read *Gods*, *Ibid.* l. 36. after *know* a Period, p. 80. l. 3. for *him* read *them*, p. 87. l. 27. after *Hens* a Semicolon, p. 88. l. 35. for *ſtream* read *ſteam*, p. 89. l. 7. for *a* read *the*, p. 101. l. 28. for *Husband* read *Husbandman*, p. 102. l 23. after *conſiderable* a Comma, p. 103. Marg. l. 4. for *benefit* read *manner*, p. 105. l. 26. for *ſo* read *To*, p. 109. l. 1. read *Htawoy com-coraund*, *To fight*, as much as to ſay, *To act the Soldier*, p. 110. l. 29. after *go* add *their Journey*, p. 111. l. 9. for *Friday* read *Iridah*, p. 112. l. 52. after *temple* add *in*, p. 118. l. 41. after *and* add *his*, p. 128. l. 51. dele *no*, p. 132. l. 38. dele the Comma after *Holſtein*, p. 134. l. 47. For *Crock* read *crook*, p. 138. l. 37. for *ny* read *any*, *Ibid.* l. 47. after *they* read *had*, p. 148. l. 52. for *go* read *got*, p. 151. l. 6. for *here* read *have*, p. 154. l. 27. for *favors* read *ſeavors*, p. 155. l. 4. dele the firſt [*it*] *Ibid.* l. 18. for *he* read *we*, p. 161. l. 43. for *Diabac* read *Diabat*, p. 168. l. 4. after *before* add *us*, *Ibid.* l. 7. after *comparing* add *it*, p. 176. l. 22. for *the* read *great*, p. 179. l. 21. for *be* read *beg*, *Ibid.* l. 34. dele *what they keep*; And inſtead of *Cande uda* throout the Book, read *Conde uda*.

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A NEW MAP of the Kingdom of CANDY UDA. in the Island of CEYLON.

Note, all the Land inclosed in the large pricked line, is under ye Iuridiction of the King of Candy Uda. All without that Line except Coylot Wanee's Country, mentioned in this Map in which the Malabars live, belong to the Dutch.

× Places where the Witches are kept.

The way of the Authers escape.

North

South

East

West

PANOV REGNUM.

Panova

Leawava

PAUNOA

JAELE PROVIN:

Kleyn Baxos

Groote Baxos

Magamme

Bondele

Chalincale

Maletoure

Blockhus

Mago

Waluwe

CIA.

Gerrewery of MATU:

Eliphants vangh plaets

Kardekoes bay

Ettal gos Henn

Cynde vande Caneel landen

Galettes

Dondere

Dolles das Corla.

HABARAGOM

Barleponmentotte

TENEWARA DE

Tenewara

Matura

Dennemoene

PRIN: COMITAT.

Billigamme Corla

Cochelo

Point de Galle

GILLE CIPAT. COMITATUS

Walalwitte Corla

Pennegal

Narrgal

Pasdum

Pittigalle

Uduare Corla.

Tobeene

Raygam Corla.

Bellangatte

QUATRE CORLA.

Sapita Corle

Negombo

Madampe

Columbo

Billgol Courle

TUNCOURLY

Pittigal Kettang Corle

HOTTERA COURLE.

Handa Poadoun

Tecaregaull

Tunpon Ahoy

Yattanour.

Hevoi Hattay.

Horsepot.

Dombaheng Ouda

Bogoodagh

Parnegom linde

Mosponu

Wallaponahoy

Goddapo

Nahoy

Ambolelel

Corruponale

Combalbwella

Dimmulla

Potteragum

Deglipy neur

Gaulguda

Ponci Pot.

Dom Berah.

Mautaly

Mallout neur

Mandama nuve

Beawat nemr

Crolleal

Bamborough

Colombo Courle

Cotiarum REGNUM.

Cotiarum

Batticalow

Fort Battacalow REGNUM.

Trinkimaly

Tammanquad

Yotta kinde

Maurida kinde

Ouvah.

Bintana

Vellas.

Badulla

Passara

Pottupol

Condenol

Bombragoom

Dambadeniya

Nilaga

Vellas

Figamo

Baldigame

Tunnemar willepatte

Platte

Noctitive

Wytingal

Ytemenwyd

Matteweyy

Poeresaww. of Poeresjon: Coulan

Carecatte moele

Maundhagongal

Mount Pelion

Mepatte

Carremwepatte

Ponery

Welipatti CONTREY

Seite coulang

Owregarepatte

Peringale

Nanatan

Mantotte

Mouslipatte

Palicoura

Calpentyn

Putelan

Palavi

Condremale

Aneworlon dane

Sout pannen

Caun de Codmatt

Maugol Courly

Hot: Courly.

Hondemdampe

Golgom

Gilhaddagom

Hanbolangoma weya

Ekpal

Hollmillawayah

Hooregas uruwah

Coluela

Cotta weya

Dias weya

Dollopatte gum

Molhalligall

Nicotticum

Hanapoolo gom

Dempitigall

Parooagh

Cornegall Hadage

Nicovarr

Eredenne

Tembrawaya

Anuradghurra

Lobboneur

Hurcelgh

Bommegom

Maumme

Torroway ve

Noure Calava.

Wanee's

Mallabar weya

Caula weya

Dias weya

Bandergode Watte

Paungum

Cockcoval

Walgom

Waywoda

Dollagom

Welle

Corronda vaya

Yattanour.

Tunpon Ahoy

Allegall

Eudanewr.

Ouda Pollot.

Doubarat

Gallhadde Courle

Tena goda Courle

Fanscoon

Adams peke

Coll gomonah

Ouvah

Matelure

Ouvah

Ouda

Parnegom

Nellamby neur

Morthe

Hevoi Hattay.

Cote: Mul.

Paradane

Candy Deloote

Attabage

Mallwella

Tekotawira

Poolepitte

Pottegum

Dimmulla

Neuper Pallet

Bamborough

Gaulguda

Deglipy neur

Ponci Pot.

Dom Berah.

Mautaly

Mallout neur

Mandama nuve

Beawat nemr

Crolleal

Mosponu

Wallaponahoy

Goddapo

Nahoy

Ambolelel

Corruponale

Combalbwella

Colombo Courle

Coyl ot

Wanneygoela

Coorengoetoor

Wetzelgemi

Oeruture

Alaincelli

Poewetton

Waranni

Ysenbrampatte

Illond matual

Ambon

Calculang

Pedras de Paretture

Cotavelli

Londe manaer

Iasnipatan

Mayletti

Telipole

Palwahie

Mampay

Batticotta

Amsterdam

Hammen huel

Picale

Middelburgh

Tellemanaer

Dona Clara

Delft

Enckhuysen

Hoorn

Bakenburg

I. Manaur

Paerl bancken van Manaur

Adams bergh

Caretive

Tellapary

Marypo

Manarre

Chilaw

Negombo

Madampe

Columbo

Point Pedras

Paretture

Ceylon REGN.

Mulpatti

Tambarone

Pylod Carabilly

S. Lago

Chamissy

Ceylon

Jaffanapatan

Jaffanapatan

Tryncomale

Pulicat

Negapatan

Sumatra

Java

Malacca

Ceylon

Coast of Coromandel

Coast of Malabar

Maldive Islands

Cape Comorin

Gulf of Bengal

Arabian Sea

Indian Ocean

English and French miles

Spanish miles

Dutch miles

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E

Beſides divers Miſpointings, a
theſe are to be amended.

PAge 1. Line 16. after *Parts*, ſtrike out t
after *they* dele *that*, p. 12. l. 43. for *P*
for *Out-yards* read *Ortyards*, p. 25. l. 6. f
l. 33. for *Rodgerati* read *Rodgerah*, p. 33. l
for *a* read *at*, *Ibid.* l. 51. for *being none* rea
pangi, *Ibid.* l. 43 for *Dackini* read *Dackim*,
are, *Ibid.* l. 24. after *them* read *to*, p. 51. l
Ibid. l. 18. for *their* read *theirs*, *Ibid.* l. 1
l. 30. after *were* read *or were*, p. 62. Marg. l.
for *one* read *once*, p. 69. l. 28. after *lace* del
after *places* add *and*, p. 73. 14. dele *they ſay*
colon after *Vehar*, and place it after *alſo*, *Il*
Ibid. l. 36. after *know* a Period, p. 80. l. 3
for *ſtream* read *ſteam*, p. 89. l. 7. for *a* read
conſiderable a Comma, p. 103. Marg. l. 4. fo
Hewoy com-coraund, *To fight*, as much as to
p. 111. l. 9. for *Friday* read *Iridah*, p. 112.
l. 51. dele *no*, p. 132. l. 38. dele the Comm
for *ny* read *any*, *Ibid.* l. 47. after *they* read
p. 154. l. 27. for *favors* read *ſeavors*, p. 155
for *Diabac* read *Diabat*. p. 168. l. 4. after
the read *great*, p. 179. l. 21. for *be* read *beg*
out the Book, read *Conde uda*.

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AN Historical Relation OF ZEILON, (Alias *Ceylon*,) AN Island in the *EAST-INDIES.*

PART I.

CHAP. I.

A general Description of the Island.

HOw this *Island* lyes with respect unto the Neighbouring Countries, I shall not speak at all, that being to be seen in our ordinary *Sea-Cards*, which describe those Parts; and but little concerning the Maritime parts of it, now under the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch*: my design being to relate such things onely that are new and unknown unto these *Europæan* Nations. It is the Inland Countrey therefore I chiefly intend to write of, which is yet an hidden Land even to the *Dutch* themselves that inhabit upon the Island. For I have seen among them a fair large *Map* of this Place, the best I believe extant, yet very faulty: the ordinary *Maps* in use among us are much more so. I have procured a new one to be drawn, with as much truth and exactness as I could, and his Judgment will not be deemed altogether inconsiderable, who had for Twenty Years Travelled about the *Iland*, and knew almost every step of those Parts, especially, that most want describing.

I begin with the *Sea-Coasts*. Of all which the *Hollander* is Master: On the North end the chief places are *Jafnipatan*, and the Iland of *Manaur*: On the East side *Trenkimalay*, and *Batticalow*. To the South is the City of *Point de Galle*. On the West the City of *Columbo*, so called from a Tree the Natives call *Ambo*, (which bears the *Mango-fruit*) growing in *that* place; but this never bare fruit, but onely leaves, which in their Language is *Cola*, and thence they called the Tree *Colaambo*:

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Part. I.

ambo: which the *Christians* in honour of *Columbus* turned to *Columbo*. It is the chief City on the Sea-coasts, where the chief Governour hath his residence. On this side also is *Negumba*, and *Colpentine*. All these already mentioned are strong fortified places: There are besides many other smaller Forts and Fortifications. All which, with considerable Territories, to wit, all round bordering upon the Sea-coasts, belong to the *Dutch* Nation.

A general division of the Inland Country.

I proceed to the Inland-Country, being that that is now under the King of *Cande*. It is convenient that we first understand, that this land is divided into greater or less shares or parts. The greater divisions give me leave to call *Provirces*, and the less *Counties*, as resembling ours in *England*, tho not altogether so big. On the North parts lyes the Province of *Nourecalava*, consisting of five lesser Divisions or Counties; the Province also of *Hotcourly* (signifying seven Counties:) it contains seven Counties. On the Eastward is *Mautaly*, containing three Counties. There are also lying on that side *Tammanquod*, *Bintana*, *Vellas*, *Paunoa*, these are single Counties. *Ouvah* also containing three Counties. In this Province are Two and thirty of the Kings Captains dwelling with their Soldiers. In the Midland within those already mentioned lye *Wallaponahoy* (it signifies Fifty holes or vales which describe the nature of it, being nothing but Hills and Valleys,) *Poncipot*, (signifying five hundred Souldiers.) *Goddaponahoy*, (signifying fifty pieces of dry Land;) *Hevoihattay* (signifying sixty Souldiers,) *Cote-mul*, *Horsepot* (four hundred Souldiers.) *Tunponahoy* (three fifties.) *Oudanour* (it signifies the Upper City,) where I lived last and had Land. *Tattanour* (the Lower City) in which stands the Royal and chief City, *Cande*. These two Counties I last named, have the pre-eminence of all the rest in the Land. They are most populous, and fruitful. The Inhabitants thereof are the chief and principal men: insomuch that it is a usual saying among them, that *if they want a King, they may take any man, of either of these two Counties, from the Plow, and wash the dirt off him, and he by reason of his quality and descent is fit to be a King.* And they have this peculiar Priviledge, That none may be their Governour, but one born in their own Country. These ly to the Westward that follow, *Oudipollat*, *Dolusbaug*, *Hotteracourly*, containing four Counties; *Portaloon*, *Tuncourly*, containing three Counties; *Cuttiar*. Which last, together with *Batticalaw*, and a part of *Tuncourly*, the *Hollander* took from the King during my being there. There are about ten or twelve more un-named, next bordering on the Coasts, which are under the *Hollander*. All these Provinces and Counties, excepting six, *Tammanquod*, *Vellas*, *Paunoa*, *Hotteracourly*, *Hotcourly*, and *Neurecalava*, ly upon Hills fruitful and dwell watered: and therefore they are called in one word *Conde Uda*, which signifies, *On top of the Hills*, and the King is styled, the King of *Conde Uda*.

Each County divided by Woods.

All these Counties are divided each from other by great Woods. Which none may fell, being preserved for Fortifications. In most of them there are Watches kept constantly, but in troublesome times in all.

The Country Hilly, but enriched with Rivers.

The Land is full of Hills, but exceedingly well watered, there being many pure and clear Rivers running through them. Which falling down

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down about their Lands is a very great benefit for the Countrey in respect of their Rice, their chief Suttenance. These Rivers are generally very rocky, and so un-navigable. In them are great quantities of Fish, and the greater for want of Skill in the People to catch them. The main River of all is called *Mavelagonga*; Which proceeds out of the Mountain called *Adams Peak* (of which afterwards:) it runs thro the whole Land Northward, and falls into the Sea at *Trenkimalay*. It may be an Arrows flight over in bredth, but not Navigable by reason of the many Rocks and great falls in it: Towards the Sea it is full of *Aligators*, but on the Mountains none at all. Chap. 1. The great River, *Mavelagonga* described.

It is so deep, that unless it be mighty dry weather, a man cannot wade over it, unless towards the head of it. They use little *Canoues* to pass over it: but there are no Bridges built over it, being so broad, and the Stream in time of Rains (which in this Countrey are very great) runs so high, that they cannot make them, neither if they could, would it be permitted; for the King careth not to make his Countrey easie to travel, but desires to keep it intricate. This River runs within a mile or less of the City of *Cande*. In some places of it, full of Rocks, in others clear for three or four miles.

There is another good large River running through *Cotemul*, and falls into that before mentioned. There are divers others brave Rivers that water the Countrey, tho none Navigable for the cause aboveſaid.

The Land is generally covered with Woods, excepting the Kingdome of *Ouvah*, and the Counties of *Oudipallet*, and *Dolusbaug*, which are naturally somewhat clear of them. Woody.

It is most populous about the middle, least near about by the Sea; how it is with those Parts under the *Hollander*, I know not. The Northern parts are somewhat sickly by reason of bad water, the rest very healthful. Where most populous and healthful.

The Valleys between their Hills are many of them quagmires, and most of them full of brave Springs of pure water: Which watery Valleys are the best sort of Land for their Corn, as requiring much moisture, as shall be told in its place. The nature of the Valleys.

On the South side of *Conde Uda* is an Hill, supposed to be the highest on this Island, called in the *Chingulay* Language, *Hamalell*; but by the *Portuguez* and the *Europæan* Nations, *Adams Peak*. It is sharp like a Sugar-loaf, and on the Top a flat Stone with the print of a foot like a mans on it, but far bigger, being about two foot long. The people of this Land count it meritorious to go and worship this impression; and generally about their New Year, which is in *March*, they, Men, Women and Children, go up this vast and high Mountain to worship. The manner of which I shall write hereafter, when I come to describe their Religion. Out of this Mountain arise many fine Rivers, which run thro the Land, some to the Westward, some to the Southward, and the main River, *viz. Mavelagonga* before mentioned, to the Northward. The great Hill *Adams Peak* described.

This Kingdom of *Conde Uda* is strongly fortified by Nature. For which way soever you enter into it, you must ascend vast and high mountains, and descend little or nothing. The wayes are many, but very narrow, so that but one can go abreast. The Hills are covered with Wood and great Rocks, so that 'tis scarce possible to get up any The natural Strength of this Kingdom.

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Part I. where, but onely in the paths, in all which there are gates made of Thorns; the one at the bottom, the other at the top of the Hills, and two or three men always ſet to watch, who are to examine all that come and go, and ſee what they carry, that Letters may not be conveyed, nor Priſoners or other Slaves run away. Theſe Watches, in caſe of oppoſition, are to call out to the Towns near, who are to aſſiſt them: They oftentimes have no Arms, for they are the people of the next Towns: but their Weapons to ſtop people are to charge them in the Kings Name; which diſobeyed, is ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that none dare reſiſt. Theſe Watches are but as Sentinels to give notice; for in caſe of War and Danger the King ſends Commanders and Souldiers to ly here. But of this enough. Theſe things being more proper to be related, when we come to diſcourſe of the *Policy* and Strength of the Kingdom.

The difference of the Seaſons in this Country.

The one part of this Iſland differs very much from the other, both in reſpect of the Seaſons and the Soyl. For when the Weſtwardly Winds blow, then it rains on the Weſt ſide of the Iſland: and that is the ſeaſon for them to till their grounds. And at the ſame time on the Eaſt ſide is very fair and dry weather, and the time of their Harveſt. On the contrary, when the Eaſt Winds blow, it is Tilling time for thoſe that inhabit the Eaſt Parts, and Harveſt to thoſe on the Weſt. So that Harveſt is here in one part or other all the Year long. Theſe Rains and this dry weather do part themſelves about the middle of the Land; as oftentimes I have ſeen, being on the one ſide of a Mountain called *Cauragas hirg*, rainy and wet weather, and as ſoon as I came on the other, dry, and ſo exceeding hot, that I could ſcarcely walk on the ground, being, as the manner there is, barefoot.

What Parts have moſt Rain.

It rains far more in the High-Lands of *Conde Uda*, then in the Low-Lands beneath the Hills. The North End of this Iſland is much ſubject to dry weather. I have known it for five or ſix Years together ſo dry, (having no Rains, and there is no other means of water but that, being but three Springs of running water, that I know, or ever heard of) that they could not plow nor ſow, and ſcarcely could dig Wells deep enough to get water to drink, and when they got it, its taſt was brackiſh. At which time in other Parts there wanted not Rain; Whither the Northern People were forced to come to buy food. Let thus much ſuffice to have ſpoken of the Countreys, Soyl and Nature of this Iſland in general. I will proceed to ſpeak of the *Cities and Towns* of it, together with ſome other Remarkable Matters thereunto belonging.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Chief Cities and Towns of this Iſland.

The moſt Eminent Cities are Five.

IN this Iſland are ſeveral Places, where, they ſay, formerly ſtood Cities; and ſtill retain the Name, tho little or nothing of Building be now to be ſeen. But yet there are Five Cities now ſtanding, which are the moſt Eminent, and where the King hath *Palaces* and *Goods*; yet even theſe, all of them, except that wherein his *Perſon* is, are ruined and fallen to decay. The

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Chap. 2.

The First is the City of *Candy*, so generally called by the *Christians*, probably from *Conde*, which in the *Chingulays* Language signifies *Hills*, for among them it is situated, but by the Inhabitants called *Hingoda-gul-neure*, as much as to say, *the City of the Chingulay people*, and *Mau-neur*, signifying the Chief or Royal City. This is the Chief or *Metropolitical* City of the whole Island. It is placed in the midst of the Island in *Tattanour*, bravely situate for all conveniences, excellently well watered. The Kings Palace stands on the East corner of the City, as is customary in this Land for the Kings Palaces to stand. This City is three-square like a *Triangle*: but no artificial strength about it, unless on the South side, which is the easiest and openest way to it, they have long since cast up a Bank of Earth cross the Valley from one Hill to the other; which nevertheless is not so steep but that a man may easily go over it any where. It may be some twenty foot in height. In every Way to come to this City about two or three miles off from it are *Thorn-Gates* and Watches to examine all that go and come: It is environed round with Hills. The great River coming down from *Adams Peak* runs within less than a mile of it on the West side. It has oftentimes been burnt by the *Portuguez* in their former Invasions of this Island, together with the Kings Palace and the Temples. Insomuch that the King has been fain to pay them a Tribute of three Elephants *per annum*. The King left this City about Twenty Years ago, and never since has come at it. So that it is now quite gone to decay. *Candy.*

A second City is *Nellemby-neur*, lying in *Oudipollat*, South of *Cande*, some Twelve miles distance. Unto this the King retired, and here kept his Court, when he forsook *Candy*. *Nellemby.*

Thirdly, The City *Allout-neur* on the North East of *Cande*. Here this King was born, here also he keeps great store of Corn and Salt, *&c.* against time of War or Trouble. This is Situate in the Countrey of *Bintan*, which Land, I have never been at, but have taken a view of from the top of a Mountain, it seems to be smooth Land, and not much hilly; the great River runneth through the midst of it. It is all over covered with mighty Woods and abundance of Deer. But much subject to dry Weather and Sickness. In these Woods is a sort of Wild People Inhabiting, whom we shall speak of in their place. *Allout-neur.* The Country of *Bintan* described.

Fourthly, *Badoula* Eastward from *Cande* some two dayes Journey, the second City in this Land. The *Portugals* in time of War burnt it down to the ground. The Palace here is quite ruined; the *Pagodas* onely remain in good repair. *Badoula.*

This City stands in the Kingdom or Province of *Ouvah*, which is a Countrey well watered, the Land not smooth, neither the Hills very high, wood very scarce, but what they plant about their Houses. But great plenty of Cattle, their Land void of wood being the more apt for grazing. If these Cattle be carried to any other Parts in this Island they will commonly dye, the reason whereof no man can tell, onely they conjecture it is occasioned by a kind of small Tree or Shrub, that grows in all Countreys but in *Ouvah*, the Touch or Scent of which may be Poyson to the *Ouvah* Cattel; though it is not so to other. The Tree hath a pretty *Physical* smell like an *Apothecaries* Shop, but no sort of Cattle will eat it. In this Cuontry grows the best *Tobacco* that is on this Land. *Rice* is more plenty here then most other things. The Province of *Ouvah.*

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Part I.

The fifth City is *Digligy-neur* towards the East of *Cande*, lying in the Country of *Hevahatr*. Where the King ever since he was routed from *Nellemby* in the Rebellion *Anno* 1664. hath held his Court. The scituation of this place is very Rocky and Mountainous, the Lands Barren; So that hardly a worse place could be found out in the whole Island. Yet the King chose it, partly because it lyes about the middle of his Kingdom, but chiefly for his safety; having the great Mountain *Gauluda* behind his Palace, unto which he fled for Safety in the Rebellion, being not only high, but on the top of it lye three Towns, and Corn Fields, whence he may have necessary supplies: and it is so fenced with steep Cliffs, Rocks and Woods, that a few men here will be able to defend themselves against a great Army.

Digligy, the place of the Kings constant Residence.

Gauluda.

Many Ruins of Cities.

There are besides these already mentioned, several other ruinous places that do still retain the name of Cities, where Kings have Reigned, tho now little Foot-steps remaining of them. At the North end of this Kings Dominions is one of these Ruinous Cities, called *Anurodgburro* where they say Ninety Kings have Reigned, the Spirits of whom they hold now to be Saints in Glory, having merited it by making *Pagoda's* and Stone Pillars and Images to the honour of their *Gods*, whereof there are many yet remaining: which the *Chingulayes* count very meritorious to worship, and the next way to Heaven. Near by is a River, by which we came when we made our escape: all along which is abundance of hewed stones, some long for Pillars, some broad for paving. Over this River there have been three Stone Bridges built upon Stone Pillars, but now are fallen down; and the Countrey all desolate without Inhabitants. At this City of *Anurodgburro* is a Watch kept, beyond which are no more people that yield obedience to the King of *Candy*. This place is above Ninety miles to the Northward of the City of *Candy*. In these Northern Parts there are no Hills, nor but two or three Springs of running water, so that their Corn ripeneth with the help of Rain.

Anurodgburro.

The nature of the Northern Parts.

The Port of *Portaloon*: It affords Salt.

There is a *Port* in the Countrey of *Portaloon* lying on the West side of this Island, whence part of the Kings Countrey is supplyed with *Salt* and *Fish*: where they have some small Trade with the *Dutch*, who have a Fort upon the Point, to prevent Boats from coming: But the Eastern Parts being too far, and Hilly, to drive Cattel thither for *Salt*, Gods Providence hath provided them a place on the East side nearer them, which in their Language they call *Leawava*. Where the Eastwardly Winds blowing, the Sea beats in, and in Westwardly Winds (being then fair weather there) it becomes Salt, and that in such abundance, that they have as much as they please to fetch. This Place of *Leawava* is so contrived by the Providence of the *Almighty Creator*, that neither the *Portuguez* nor *Dutch* in all the time of their Wars could ever prevent this People from having the benefit of this Salt, which is the principal thing that they esteem in time of Trouble or War; and most of them do keep by them a store of Salt against such times. It is, as I have heard, environed with Hills on the Land side, and by Sea not convenient for Ships to ride; and very sickly, which they do impute to the power of a great God, who dwelleth near by in a Town they call *Cotteragem*, standing in the Road, to whom all that go to fetch Salt both small and great must give an Offering. The Name and Power of this God striketh such terror into the *Chingulayes*, that

Leawava affords Salt in abundance.

Described.

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that those who otherwise are Enemies to this King, and have served both *Portuguez* and *Dutch* against him, yet would never assist either to make Invasions this way. Chap. 3.

Having said thus much concerning the *Cities* and other Eminent places of this Kingdom, I will now add a little concerning their *Towns*. The best are those that do belong to their *Idols*, wherein stand their *Dewals* or Temples. They do not care to make Streets by building their Houses together in rowes, but each man lives by himself in his own Plantation, having an hedg it may be and a ditch round about him to keep out Cattel. Their Towns are always placed some distance from the High-ways, for they care not that their Towns should be a thorough-fair for all people, but onely for those that have business with them. They are not very big, in some may be Forty, in some Fifty houses, and in some above an Hundred: and in some again not above eight or ten. Their Towns how Built.

And as I said before of their *Cities*, so I must of their *Towns*, That there are many of them here and there lie desolate, occasioned by their voluntary forsaking them, which they often do, in case many of them fall sick, and two or three die soon after one another: For this they conclude to happen from the hand of the *Devil*. Whereupon they all leave their Town and go to another, thinking thereby to avoid him: Thus relinquishing both their Houses and Lands too. Yet afterwards, when they think the Devil hath departed the place, some will sometimes come back and re-assume their Lands again. Many lye in Ruins, and forsaken; and upon what occasion.

CHAP. III.

Of their Corn, with their manner of Husbandry.

HAving discoursed hitherto of the Countrey, method will require that I proceed now to the *Products* of it; *Viz.* their Fruits, Plants, Beasts, Birds, and other Creatures, Minerals, Commodities,&c. whereof I must declare once for all, That I do not pretend to write an Exact and Perfect Treatise, my time and leisure not permitting me so to do; but only to give a Relation of some of the chief of these things, and as it were a taste of them, according as they that occur to my Memory while I am writing. I shall first begin with their Corn, as being the Staff of their Countrey. The Products and Commodities of the Countrey.

They have divers sorts of *Corn*, tho all different from ours. And here I shall first speak of their *Rice*, the Choice and Flower of all their Corn, and then concerning the other inferior kinds among them. Corn of divers sorts.

Of *Rice* they have several sorts, and called by several names according to the different times of their ripening: However in taste little disagreeing from one another. Some will require seven Months before it come to maturity, called *Mauvi*; some six, *Hauteal*; others will ripen in five, *Honorowal*; others in four, *Henit*; and others in three, *Aulfancol*: The price of all these is one and the same. That which is soonest ripe, is most savoury to the taste; but yieldeth the least increase. It may be asked then, why any other sort of Rice is sown, Rice.

but

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Part I. but that which is longeſt a Ripening, ſeeing it brings in moſt Profit?
In anſwer to this, you muſt know, That all theſe ſorts of Rice do abſolutely require Water to grow in, all the while they ſtand; ſo that the Inhabitants take great pains in procuring and ſaving water for their Grounds, and in making Conveyances of Water from their Rivers and Ponds into their Lands, which they are very ingenious in; alſo in levelling their Corn Lands, which muſt be as ſmooth as a *Bowling-Green*, that the Water may cover all over. Neither are their ſteep and Hilly Lands uncapable of being thus overflown with Water. For the doing of which they uſe this Art. They level theſe Hills into narrow Allies, ſome three, ſome eight foot wide one beneath another, according to the ſteepneſs of the Hills, working and digging them in that faſhion that they lye ſmooth and flat, like ſo many Stairs up the Hills one above another. The Waters at the top of the Hills falling downwards are let into theſe Allies, and ſo ſucceſſively by running out of one into another, water all; firſt the higher Lands, and then the lower. The higheſt Allies having ſuch a quantity of Water as may ſuffice to cover them, the reſt runs over unto the next, and that having its proportion, unto the next, and ſo by degrees it falls into all theſe hanging parcels of Ground. Theſe Waters laſt ſometimes a longer, and ſometimes a ſhorter Seaſon. Now the Rice they ſow is according as they foreſee their ſtock of Water will laſt. It will ſometimes laſt them two or three, or four or five Months, more or leſs; the Rice therefore they chuſe to caſt into the Ground, is of that ſort that may anſwer the duration of the Water. For all their Crop would be ſpoilt if the Water ſhould fail them before their Corn grew ripe. If they foreſee their Water will hold out long, then they ſow the beſt and moſt profitable Rice, *viz.* that which is longeſt a ripening; but if it will not, they muſt be content to ſow of the worſer ſorts; that is, thoſe that are ſooner ripe. Again, they are forced ſometimes to ſow this younger Rice, for the preventing the damage it might otherwiſe meet with, if it ſhould ſtand longer. For their Fields are all in common, which after they have ſown, they encloſe till Harveſt; But as ſoon as the Corn firſt ſown becomes ripe, when the Owner has reaped it, it is lawful for him to break down his Fences, and let in his Cattle for grazing; which would prove a great miſchief to that Corn that required to ſtand a Month or two longer. Therefore if they are conſtrained to ſow later than the reſt, either through want or ſloth, or ſome other Impediment, yet they make uſe of that kind of Rice that will become ripe, equal with that firſt ſown. And ſo they all obſerve one time of reaping to prevent their Corn being trampled down or eaten up by the Cattle. Thus they time their Corn to their Harveſt; ſome ſowing ſooner, ſome later, but all reaping together, unleſs they be Fields that are encloſed by themſelves; and peculiar to one Man.

Grows in Water.

Their Ingenuity in watering their Corn Lands.

Why they do not alwayes ſow the beſt kind of Rice.

They ſow at different times, but reap together.

Their Artificial Pools.

Where there are no Springs or Rivers to furniſh them with Water, as it is in the Northern Parts, where there are but two or three Springs, they ſupply this defect by ſaving of rain Water; which they do, by caſting up great Banks in convenient places to ſtop and contain the Rains that fall, and ſo ſave it till they have occaſion to let it out into their Fields: They are made rounding like a C or Half-Moon, every Town has one of theſe *Ponds*, which if they can but get filled with Water, they count their Corn is as good as in the Barn. It was no

ſmall

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small work to the ancient Inhabitants to make all these Banks, of which there is a great number, being some two, some three Fathoms in height, and in length some above a Mile, some less, not all of a size. They are now grown over with great Trees, and so seem natural Hills. When they would use the Water, they cut a gap in one end of the Bank, and so draw the Water by little and little, as they have occasion for the watering their Corn. These Ponds in dry weather dry up quite. If they should dig these Ponds deep, it would not be so convenient for them. It would indeed contain the Water well, but would not so well nor in such Plenty empty out it self into their Grounds. In these Ponds are *Aligators*, which when the Water is dried up depart into the Woods, and down to the Rivers; and in the time of Rains come up again into the Ponds. They are but small, nor do use to catch People, nevertheless they stand in some fear of them. The Corn they sow in these Parts is of that sort that is soonest ripe, fearing lest their Waters should fail. As the Water dries out of these Ponds, they make use of them for Fields, treading the Mud with Buffeloes, and then sowing Rice thereon, and frequently casting up Water with Scoops on it. I have hitherto spoken of those *Rices* that require to grow in Water.

Chap. 3.

Aligators harbor in them.

They sow Corn on the Mud.

There is yet another sort of Rice, which will ripen tho' it stand not alway in Water: and this sort of Corn serves for those places, where they cannot bring their Waters to overflow; this will grow with the Rains that fall; but is not esteemed equal with the others, and differs both in scent and taste from that which groweth in the watery Fields.

A sort of Rice that grows without Water.

The ordinary Season of seed time, is in the Months of *July* and *August*, and their Harvest in or about *February*; but for Land that is well watered, they regard no Season; the Season is all the year long. When they Till their Grounds, or Reap their Corn, they do it by whole Towns generally, all helping each other for *Attoms*, as they call it; that is, that they may help them as much, or as many days again in their Fields, which accordingly they will do. They Plough only with a crooked piece of Wood, something like an Elbow, which roots up the Ground, as uneven as if it were done by Hogs, and then they overflow it with water.

The Seasons of Seed-time and Harvest.

But if any be so curious as to know more particularly how they order and prepare their Lands, and sow their Corn, take this account of it. But before we go to work, it will be convenient first to describe the Tools. To begin therefore with their *Plough*. I said before it was a crooked piece of Wood, it is but little bigger than a Man's Arm, one end whereof is to hold by, and the other to root up the Ground. In the hollow of this Plough is a piece of Wood fastned some three or four Inches thick, equal with the bredth of the Plough; and at the end of the Plough, is fixt an Iron Plate to keep the VVood from wearing. There is a Beam let in to that part of it that the Ploughman holds in his hand, to which they make their *Buffaloes* fast to drag it.

A particular description of their Husbandry.

Their Plough.

These Ploughs are proper for this Countrey, because they are lighter, and so may be the more easie for turning, the Fields being short, so that they could not turn with longer, and if heavier, they would sink and be unruly in the mud. These Ploughs bury not the grass as ours do,

The convenience of these Ploughs.

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Part I.

and there is no need they ſhould. For their endeavour is only to root up the Ground, and ſo they overflow it with VVater, and this rots the Graſs.

Their firſt Ploughing.

They Plough twice before they ſow. But before they begin the firſt time, they let in VVater upon their Land, to make it more ſoft and pliable for the Plough. After it is once Ploughed, they make up their Banks. For if otherwiſe they ſhould let it alone till after the ſecond Ploughing, it would be mere Mud, and not hard enough to uſe for Banking. Now theſe Banks are greatly neceſſary, not only for Paths for the People to go upon through the Fields, who otherwiſe muſt go in the Mud, it may be knee deep; but chiefly to keep in and contain their VVater, which by the help of theſe Banks they overflow their Grounds with. Theſe Banks they make as ſmooth with the backſide of their Houghs, as a Bricklayer can ſmooth a VVall with his Trowel. For in this they are very neat. Theſe Banks are uſually not above a Foot over.

Their Banks, and uſe of them.

Their ſecond Ploughing.

After the Land is thus Ploughed and the Banks finiſhed, it is laid under water again for ſome time, till they go to Ploughing the ſecond time. Now it is exceeding muddy, ſo that the trampling of the Cattel that draws the Plough, does as much good as the Plough; for the more muddy the better. Sometimes they uſe no Plough this ſecond time, but only drive their Cattel over to make the Ground the muddier.

How they prepare their Seed-Corn,

Their Lands being thus ordered, they ſtill keep them overflowed with Water, that the Weeds and Graſs may rot. Then they take their Corn and lay it a ſoak in Water a whole night, and the next day take it out, and lay it in a heap, and cover it with green leaves, and ſo let it lye ſome five or ſix days to make it grow. Then they take and wet it again, and lay it in a heap covered over with leaves as before, and ſo it grows and ſhoots out with Blades and Roots. In the mean time while this is thus a growing, they prepare their Ground for ſowing; which is thus: They have a Board about four foot long, which they drag over their Land by a yoke of Buffaloes, not flat ways, but upon the edge of it. The uſe of which is, that it jumbles the Earth and Weeds together, and alſo levels and makes the Grounds ſmooth and even, that ſo the Water (for the ground is all this while under water) may ſtand equal in all places. And whereſoever there is any little hummock ſtanding out of the Water, which they may eaſily ſee by their eye, with the help of this Board they break and lay even. And ſo it ſtands overflown while their Seed is growing, and become fit to ſow, which uſually is eight days after they lay it in ſoak.

And their Land after it is Ploughed.

When the Seed is ready to ſow, they drain out all the Water, and with little Boards of about a foot and a half long, faſtned upon long Poles, they trim the Land over again, laying it very ſmooth, making ſmall Furrows all along, that in caſe Rain or other Waters ſhould come in, it might drain away; for more Water now would endanger rotting the Corn. And then they ſow their Corn, which they do with very exact evenneſs, ſtrewing it with their hands, juſt as we ſtrew Salt upon Meat.

Their manner of ſowing.

How they Manure and order their young Corn.

And thus it ſtands without any Water, till ſuch time as the Corn be grown ſome three or four Inches above the Ground. There were certain

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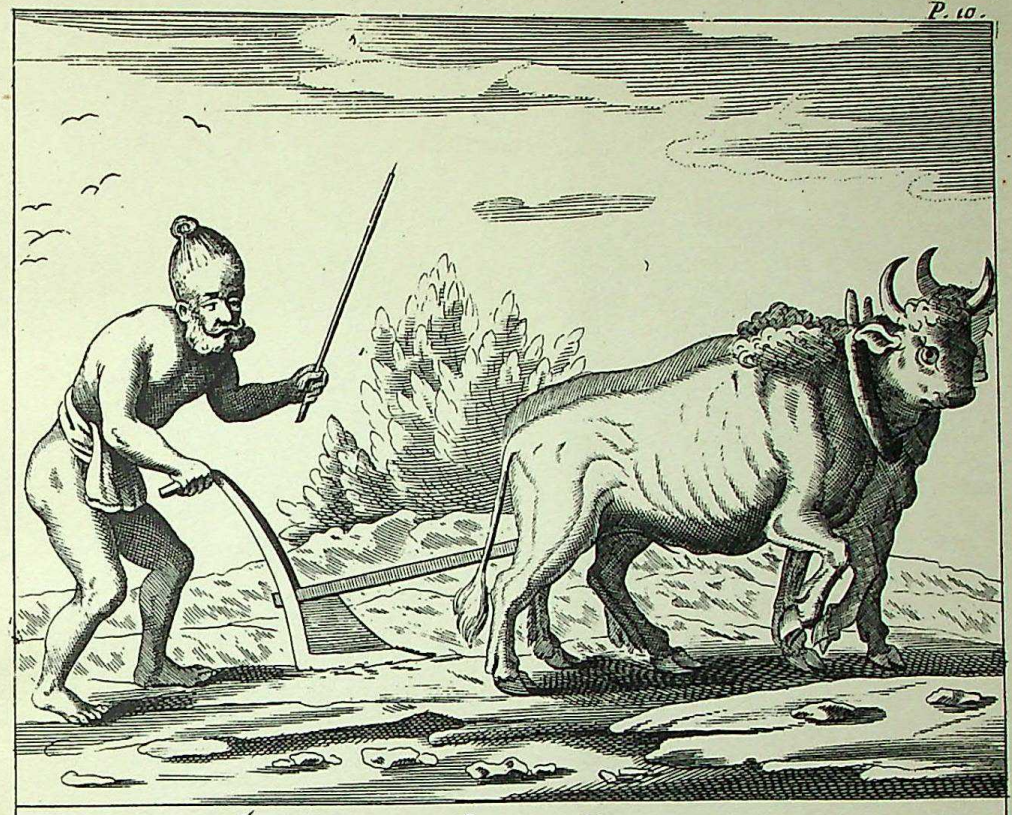
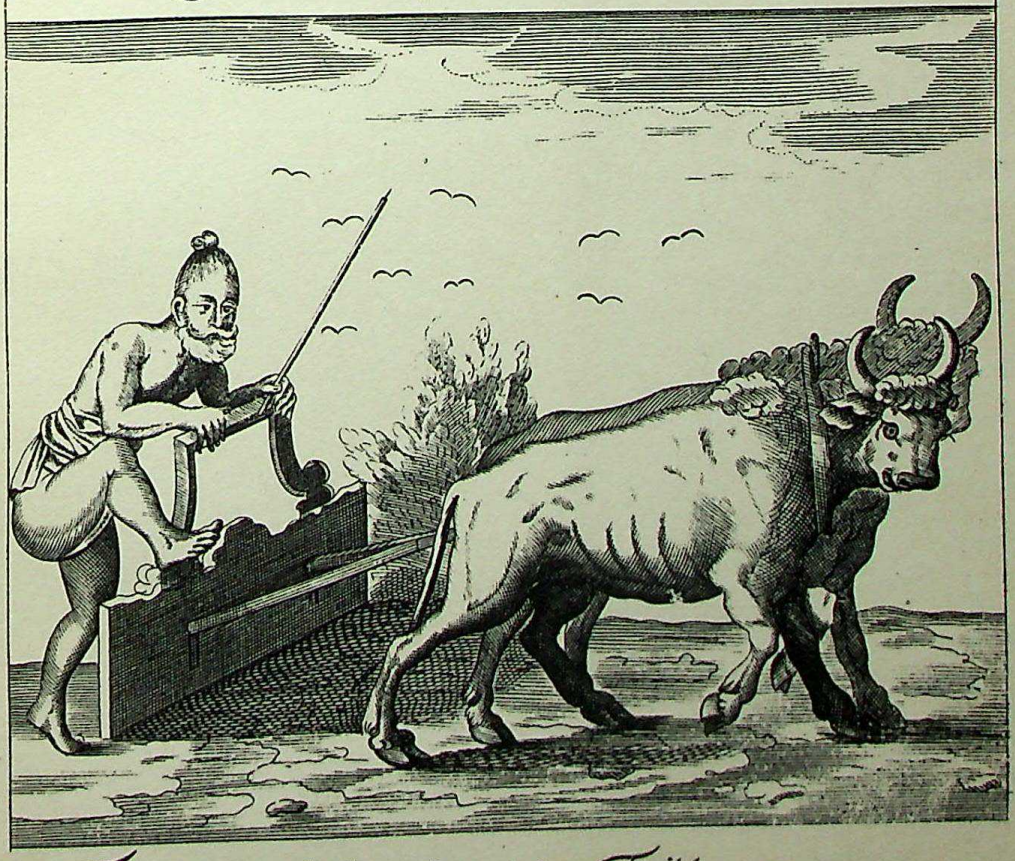


The Manner of their Ploughing.



The Manner of Smoothing their Feilds

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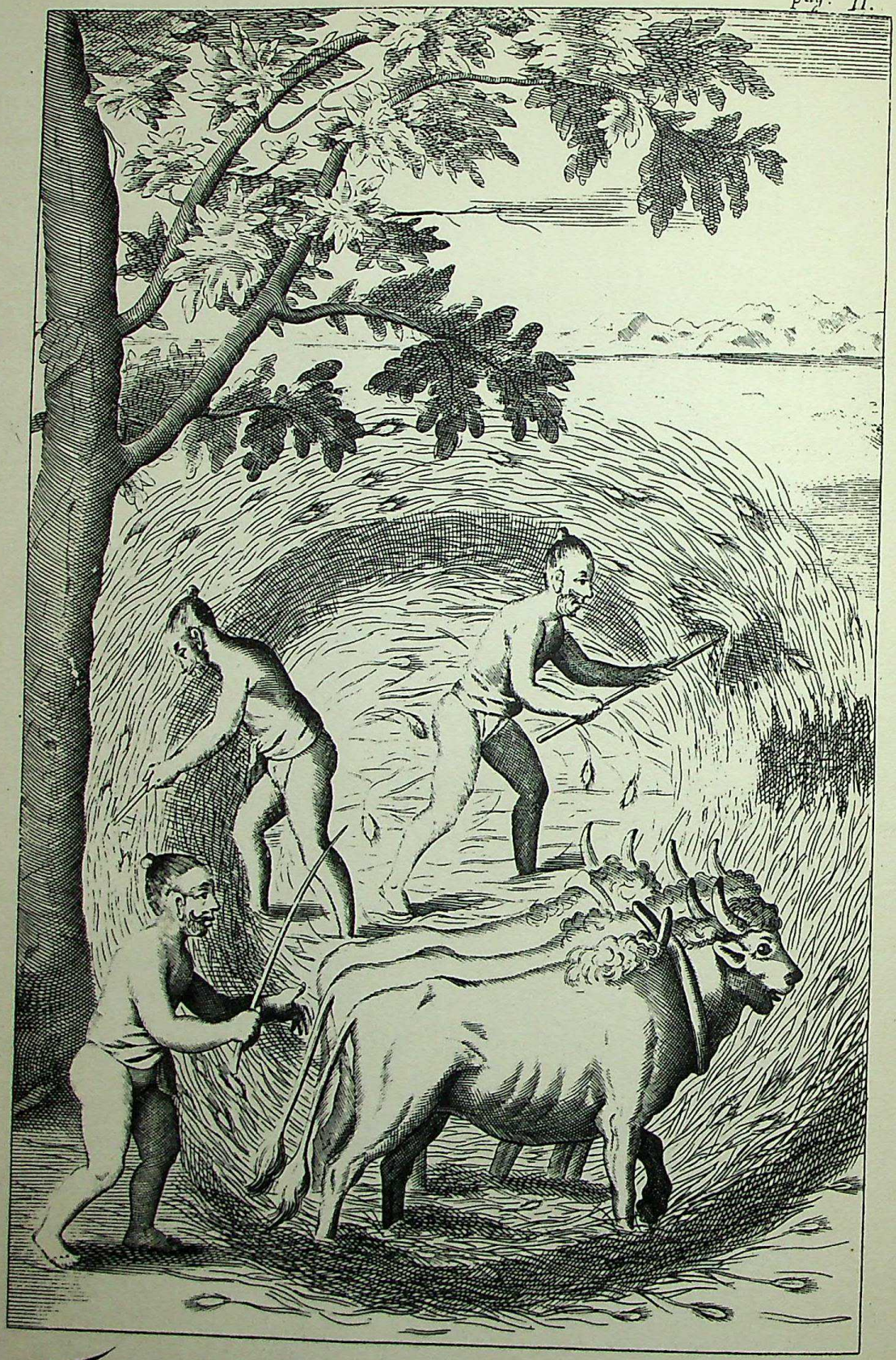

The Manner of treading out their Rice.

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certain gaps made in the Banks to let out the water, these are now stopped to keep it in. Which is not only to nourish the Corn, but to kill the weeds. For they keep their Fields as clean as a Garden without a weed. Then when the Corn is grown about a span high, the Women come and weed it, and pull it up where it grew too thick, and transplant it where it wants. And so it stands overflown till the Corn be ripe, when they let out the water again to make it dry for reaping. They never use any dung, but their manner of plowing and soaking of their Ground serves instead thereof.

Their manner of Reaping.

At reaping they are excellent good, just after the *English* manner. The whole Town, as I said before, as they joyn together in Tilling, so in their Harvest also; For all fall in together in reaping one man's Field, and so to the next, until every mans Corn be down. And the Custome is, that every man, during the reaping of his Corn, finds all the rest with Victuals. The womens work is to gather up the Corn after the Reapers, and carry it all together.

They tread out their Corn with Cattel.

They use not Threshing, but tread out their Corn with Cattel, which is a far quicker and easier way. They may tread out in a day forty or fifty Bushels at least with the help of half a dozen Cattel.

The Ceremonies they use when the Corn is to be trodden.

When they are to *tread* their Corn they choose a convenient adjoyning place. Here they lay out a round piece Ground some twenty or five and twenty foot over. From which they cut away the upper Turf. Then certain Ceremonies are used. First, they adorn this place with ashes made into flowers and branches, and round circles. Then they take divers strange shells, and pieces of Iron, and some sorts of Wood, and a bunch of betel Nuts, (which are reserved for such purposes) and lay all these in the very middle of the Pit, and a large stone upon them. Then the women, whose proper work it is, bring each their burthen of reaped Corn upon their heads, and go round in the Pit three times, and then fling it down. And after this without any more ado, bring in the rest of the Corn as fast as they can. For this Labour, and that of weeding, the Women have a Fee due to them, which they call *Warapol*, that is as much Corn, as shall cover the Stone and the other Conjuration-Instruments at the bottom of the Pit.

They will frequently carry away their new reaped Corn into the Pit, and tread it out presently as soon as they have cut it down, to secure it from the Rains, which in some Parts are very great and often; and Barns they have none big enough, But in other places not so much given to Rains, they will sometimes set it up in a *Cock*, and let it stand some months.

How they unhusk their Rice.

They unshale their Rice from its outward husk by beating it in a Mortar, or on the Ground more often; but some of these sorts of Rice must first be boyled in the husk, otherwise in beating it will break to powder. The which Rice, as it is accounted, so I by experience have found, to be the wholsomest; This they beat again the second time to take off a Bran from it; and after that it becomes white. And thus much concerning *Rice-Corn*.

Other sorts of Corn among them.

Besides this, tho far inferior to it, there are divers other sorts of Corn, which serve the People for food in the absence of Rice, which will scarcely hold out with many of them above half the Year. There is *Coracan*, which is a small seed like *Mustard-seed*, This they grind to meal or beat in a Mortar, and so make Cakes of it, baking it upon the

Coracan.

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Part I.

Coals in a potſheard, or dreſs it otherwiſe. If they which are not uſed to it, eat it, it will gripe their Bellies; When they are minded to grind it, they have for their Mill two round ſtones, which they turn with their hands by the help of a ſtick: There are ſeveral ſorts of this Corn. Some will ripen in three months, and ſome require four. If the Ground be good, it yields a great encreaſe; and grows both on the Hills and in the Plains. There is another Corn called *Tanna*; It is much eaten in the Northern Parts, in *Conde Uda* but little ſown. It is as ſmall as the former, but yieldeth a far greater encreaſe. From one grain may ſpring up two, three, four or five ſtalks, according as the ground is, on each ſtalk one ear, that contains thouſands of grains. I think it gives the greateſt encreaſe of any one ſeed in the World. Each Husbandman ſowes not above a Pottle at a Seeds-time. It growes up two foot, or two foot and an half from the ground. The way of gathering it when ripe, is, that the Women (whoſe office it is) go and crop off the ears with their hands, and bring them home in baskets. They onely take off the ears of *Coracan* alſo, but they being tough, are cut off with knives. This *Tanna* muſt be parched in a Pan, and then is beaten in a Mortar to unhusk it. It will boyl like Rice, but ſwell far more; the taſt not bad but very dry, and accounted wholſome; the faſhion flattiſh, the colour yellow and very lovely to the Eye. It ripens in four months, ſome ſorts of it in three. There are alſo divers other ſorts, which grow on dry Land (as the former) and ripen with the Rain. As *Moung*, a Corn ſomewhat like *Vetches*, growing in a *Cod*. *Omb*, a ſmall ſeed, boyled and eaten as *Rice*. It has an operation pretty ſtrange, which is, that when it is new it will make them that eat it like drunk, ſick and ſpue; and this only when it is ſown in ſome Grounds, for in all it will not have this effect: and being old, none will have it. *Minere*, a ſmall ſeed. *Boumas*, we call them *Garavances*. *Tolla*, a ſeed uſed to make Oyl, with which they anoint themſelves; and ſometimes they will parch it and eat it with *Jaggory*, a kind of brown Sugar. And thus much of their Corn.

Tanna.

Moung.

Omb.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Fruits, and Trees.

Great variety of Fruits, and delicious.

OF *Fruits* here are great plenty and variety, and far more might be if they did eſteem or nouriſh them. Pleaſant Fruits to eat ripe they care not at all to do, They look only after thoſe that may fill the Belly, and ſatisfie their hunger when their Corn is ſpent, or to make it go the further. Theſe onely they plant, the other Fruits of Pleaſure plant themſelves, the ſeeds of the ripe Fruits ſhedding and falling on the ground naturally ſpring up again. They have all Fruits that grow in *India*. Moſt ſorts of theſe delicious Fruits they gather before they be ripe, and boyl them to make *Carrees*, to uſe the *Portuguez* word, that is ſomewhat to eat with and reliſh their Rice. But whereſoever there is any Fruit better than ordinary, the *Ponudecarſo*, or Officers of the Countrey, will tie a ſtring about the Tree in the Kings Name with three knots on the end thereof, and then no man, not

The beſt Fruits, wherever they grow, reſerved for the King.

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not the Owner himself, dares presume under pain of some great punishment, if not death, to touch them. And when they are ripe, they are wrapped in white cloth, and carried to him who is Governour of that Countrey wherein they grow: and if they be without any defect or blemish, then being wrapped up again in white cloth, he presents them to the King. But the owner in whose Ground they grow is paid nothing at all for them: it is well if he be not compelled to carry them himself into the bargain unto the King, be it never so far. These are Reasons why the People regard not to plant more than just to keep them alive. Chap. 4.

But to specifie some of the chief of the Fruits in request among them. I begin with their *Betel-Nuts*, the Trees that bear them grow only on the South and West sides of this Island. They do not grow wild, they are only in their Towns, and there like unto Woods, without any inclosures to distinguish one mans Trees from anothers; but by marks of great Trees, Hummacks or Rocks each man knows his own. They plant them not, but the Nuts being ripe fall down in the grass and so grow up to Trees. They are very streight and tall, few bigger than the calf of a mans Leg. The Nuts grow in bunches at the top, and being ripe look red and very lovely like a pleasing Fruit. When they gather them, they lay them in heaps until the shell be somewhat rotted, and then dry them in the Sun, and afterwards shell them with a sharp stick one and one at a time. These Trees will yield some 500, some a 1000, some 1500 Nuts, and some but three or four hundred. They bear but once in the Year generally, but commonly there are green Nuts enough to eat all the Year long. The leaves of it are somewhat like those of a *Coker-Nut* Tree, they are five or six foot long, and have other lesser leaves growing out of the sides of them, like the feathers on each side of a quill. The *Chingulays* call the large leaves *the boughs*, and the leaves on the sides, *the leaves*. They fall off every Year, and the skin upon which they grow, with them. These skins grow upon the body of the Tree, and the leaves grow out on them. They also clap about the buds or blossoms which bear the Nuts, and as the buds swell, so this *skin-cover* gives way to them, till at length it falls quite off with the great leaf on it. It is somewhat like unto Leather, and of great use unto the Countrey People. It serves them instead of Basons to eat their Rice in, and when they go a Journey to tie up their Provisions: For in these skins or leaves they can tie up any liquid substance as Oyl or water, doubling it in the middle, and rowling it in the two sides, almost like a purse. For bigness they are according to the Trees, some bigger, some less, ordinarily they are about two foot length, and a foot and an half in breadth. In this Countrey are no Inns to go to, and therefore their manner when they Travel is, to carry ready dressed what provisions they can, which they make up in these leaves. The Trees within have onely a kind of pith, and will split from one end to the other, the Wood is hard and very strong; they use it for Laths for their Houses, and also for Rails for their Hedges, which are only stakes struck in the ground, and rails tyed along with *rattans*, or other *withs* growing in the Woods. Money is not very plentiful in this Land, but by means of these Nuts, which is a great Commodity to carry to the Coasts of *Cormandel*, they furnish themselves with all things they want. The common price of Nuts, when there was

Betel-Nuts.

The Trees.

The Fruit.

The Leaves.

The Skins, and their use.

The Wood.

The profit the Fruit yields.

a Trade,

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Part I. a Trade, as there was when I came first on this Land, is 20000 for one *Doller*; but now they ly and grow, or rot on the ground under the Trees. Some of these Nuts do differ much from others in their operation, having this effect, that they will make people drunk and giddy-headed, and give them some stools, if they eat them green.

Jacks. There is another Fruit, which we call *Jacks*; the Inhabitants when they are young call them *Polos*, before they be full ripe *Cose*; and when ripe, *Warracha* or *Vellas*; But with this difference, the *Warracha* is hard, but the *Vellas* as soft as pap, both looking alike to the eye no difference; but they are distinct Trees. These are a great help to the People, and a great part of their Food. They grow upon a large Tree, the Fruit is as big as a good Peck loaf, the outside prickly like an Hedg-hog, and of a greenish colour; there are in them Seeds or Kernels, or *Eggs* as the *Chingulayes* call them, which lie dispersed in the Fruit like Seeds in a *Cucumber*. They usually gather them before they be full ripe, boreing an hole in them, and feeling of the Kernel, they know if they be ripe enough for their purpose. Then being cut in pieces they boil them, and eat to save Rice and fill their Bellies; they eat them as we would do *Turnips* or *Cabbage*, and tast and smell much like the latter: one may suffice six or seven men. When they are ripe they are sweet and good to eat raw. The Kernels do very much resemble *Chesnuts* both in colour and tast, and are almost as good: the poor people will boyl them or roast them in the embers, there being usually a good heap of them lying in a corner by the fire side; and when they go a Journey, they will put them in a bag for their Provisions by the way. One *Jack* may contain three pints or two quarts of these seeds or kernels. When they cut these *Jacks*, there comes running out a white thick substance like tar, and will stick just like Birdlime, which the Boyes make use of to catch Birds, which they call *Cola*, or bloud of the *Cos*. Some will mix this with the flower of Rice, and it will eat like Eggs.

Jombo. Another Fruit there is which I never saw in any other Parts of *India*, they call it *Jombo*. In tast it is like to an *Apple*, full of Juice, and pleasant to the Palate, and not unwholsom to the Body, and to the Eye no Fruit more amiable, being white, and delicately coloured with red, as if it were painted.

Other Fruits found in the Woods. Also in the wild Woods are several sorts of pretty Fruits, as *Murros*, round in shape, and as big as a *Cherry*, and sweet to the tast; *Dongs*, neerest like to a black *Cherry*. *Ambelo's* like to *Barberries*. *Carolla cabella*, *Cabela pooke*, and *Polla's*, these are like to little *Plums*, and very well tasted. *Paragidde*, like to our Pears, and many more such like Fruits.

Fruits common with other parts of *India*. Here are also, of *Indian* Fruits, *Coker*-nuts; *Plantins* also and *Banana's* of divers and sundry sorts, which are distinguished by the tast as well as by the names; rare sweet *Oranges* and sower ones, *Limes* but no *Lemons*, such as ours are; *Pautaurings*, in tast all one with a *Lemon*, but much bigger than a mans two fists, right *Citrons*, and a small sort of sweet *Oranges*. Here are several other sorts of *Lemons*, and *Oranges*, *Mangoes* of several sorts, and some very good and sweet to eat. In this sort of Fruit the King much delights, and hath them brought to him from all Parts of the Island. *Pine-Apples* also grow there, *Sugar Canes*, *Water-Melons*, *Pomegranates*, *Grapes* both black and white, *Mirablins*, *Codjeu's*, and several other.

There

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The manner of their sheltring themselvs from the Raine by the Tolipat leafe.

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There are three other Trees that must not here be omitted; which tho they bear no eatable Fruit, yet the Leaves of the one, and the Juice of the other, and the Bark of the third are very renowned, and of great benefit.

The *Tallipot*; the rare Uses of the Leaf.

The first is the *Tallipot*; It is as big and tall as a Ships Mast, and very streight, bearing only Leaves: which are of great use and benefit to this People; one single Leaf being so broad and large, that it will cover some fifteen or twenty men, and keep them dry when it rains. The leaf being dryed is very strong, and limber and most wonderfully made for mens Convenience to carry along with them; for tho this leaf be thus broad when it is open, yet it will fold close like a *Ladies Fan*, and then it is no bigger than a mans arm. It is wonderful light, they cut them into pieces, and carry them in their hands. The whole leaf spread is round almost like a *Circle*, but being cut in pieces for use are near like unto a *Triangle*: They lay them upon their heads as they travel with the peaked end foremost, which is convenient to make their way thro the Boughs and Thickets. When the Sun is vehement hot they use them to shade themselves from the heat. Souldiers all carry them; for besides the benefit of keeping them dry in case it rain upon the march, these leaves make their Tents to ly under in the Night. A marvelous Mercy which *Almighty God* hath bestowed upon this poor and naked People in this Rainy Country! one of these I brought with me into *England*, and you have it described in the Figure. These Leaves all grow on the top of the Tree after the manner of a *Coker*. It bears no kind of Fruit until the last year of its life, and then it comes out on the top, and spreads abroad in great branches, all full first of yellow blossoms, most lovely and beautiful to behold, but smell very strong, and then it comes to a Fruit round and very hard, as big as our largest Cherries, but good only for seed to set: and tho this Tree bears but once, it makes amends, bearing such great abundance, that one Tree will yield seed enough for a Countrey. If these Trees stand near any houses, the smell of the blossoms so much annoyes them, that they regarding not the seed, forthwith cut them down. This Tree is within a Pith only, which is very good to eat if they cut the Tree down before it runs to seed. They beat it in Mortars to Flower, and bake Cakes of it; which tast much like to white bread. It serves them instead of Corn before their Harvest be ripe.

The Pith good to eat.

The next Tree is the *Kettule*. It groweth streight, but not so tall or big as a *Coker-Nut-Tree*; the inside nothing but a white Pith, as the former. It yieldeth a sort of Liquor, which they call *Tellegie*: it is rarely sweet and pleasing to the Pallate, and as wholsom to the Body, but no stronger than water. They take it down from the Tree twice, and from some good Trees thrice, in a day. An ordinary Tree will yield some three, some four Gallons in a day, some more and some less. The which Liquor they boyl and make a kind of brown Sugar, called *Jaggory*; but if they will use their skill, they can make it as white as the second best Sugar: and for any use it is but little inferior to ordinary Sugar. The manner how they take this Liquor from the Tree is thus; When the Tree is come to maturity, first out of the very top there cometh out a bud, which if they let it grow, will bear a round fruit, which is the seed it yieldeth, but is only good to set for encrease.

The *Kettule* yields a delicious juice.

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Part I.

encreaſe. This bud they cut and prepare, by putting to it ſeveral ſorts of things, as Salt, Pepper, Lemons, Garlick, Leaves,&c. which keeps it at a ſtand, and ſuffers it not to ripen. So they daily cut off a thin ſlice off the end, and the Liquor drops down in a Pot, which they hang to catch it.

The Skin bears ſtrings as ſtrong as wyer.

It bears a leaf like to that of a *Betel*-Nut-Tree, which is faſtned to a Skin as the *Betel*-Nut Leaves were, onely this Skin is hard and ſtubborn like a piece of Board: the Skin is all full of ſtrings as ſtrong as Wyer; they uſe them to make Ropes withal. As long as the Tree is growing the leaves ſhed; but when the Tree is come to its full growth, they remain many years upon the Tree before they fall; and when they fall, there are no new ones come again: The top-bud, as it ripens and withers, other buds come out lower and lower every Year till they come to the bottom of the Boughs, and then it hath done bearing,and ſo may ſtand ſeven or ten years, and then dyeth.

The VVood; its Nature and Uſe.

The Wood of this Tree is not above three inches thick, mighty ſtrong and hard to cut in two,but very apt to ſplit from top to bottom; a very heavy wood,they make peſtles of it to beat their Rice with; the colour black, but looks not like natural wood, but as if it were compoſed of divers pieces. The budds of this Tree, as alſo of the *Coker*, and *Betel* Nut-Tree, are excellent in taſt, reſembling *Walnuts* or *Almonds*.

The Cinnamon-Tree.

I proceed to the third Tree, which is the *Cinnamon*, in their Language *Corunda-gauhah*. It grows wild in the Woods as other Trees, and by them no more eſteemed; It is moſt on the Weſt ſide of the great River *Mavela-gonga*. It is much as plenty as *Hazel* in *England*,in ſome places a great deal, in ſome little, and in ſome none at all. The Trees

The Bark.

are not very great, but ſizable. The *Cinnamon* is the Bark or Rind, when it is on the Tree it looks whitiſh. They ſcrape it and pull it off,and dry it in the Sun: they take it onely from off the ſmaller Trees, altho the Bark of the greater is as ſweet to the ſmell and as ſtrong to the

The VVood.

taſt. The Wood has no ſmell, in colour white,and ſoft like *Fir*. Which for any uſe they cut down, favouring them no more than other wild

The Leaf.

Trees in the Wood. The Leaf much reſembleth the *Laurel* both in colour and thickneſs; the difference is, whereas the *Laurel* hath but one ſtrait rib throughout, whereon the green ſpreads it ſelf on each ſides, the *Cinnamon* hath three by which the Leaf ſtretches forth it ſelf. When the young leaves come out they look purely red like ſcarlet: Break or bruiſe them, and they will ſmell more like *Cloves* than *Cin-*

The Fruit.

namon. It bears a Fruit, which is ripe in *September*, much like an *Acorn*, but ſmaller, it neither taſts nor ſmells much like the Bark, but being boyled in water, it will yield an Oyl ſwimming on the top, which when cold is as hard as tallow and as white; and ſmelleth excellently well. They uſe it for Oyntments for Aches and Pains, and to burn in Lamps to give light in their houſes: but they make no Candles of it, neither are any Candles uſed by any but the King.

Here are many ſorts of Trees that bear *Berries* to make *Oyl* of, both in the Woods and Gardens, but not eatable, but uſed only for their Lamps.

There are other Trees remarkable either for their *ſtrangeneſs*, or *uſe*, or both. Of theſe I ſhall mention a few.

The

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Chap. 4.

The *Orula*, a Tree as big as an *Apple-Tree*, bears a Berry somewhat like an *Olive*, but sharper at each end; its Skin is of a reddish green colour, which covereth an hard stone. They make use of it for *Physic* in Purges; and also to dy black colour: Which they do after this manner; They take the fruit and beat it to pieces in Mortars, and put it thus beaten into water; and after it has been soaking a day or two, it changeth the water, that it looks like Beer. Then they dip their cloth in it, or what they mean to dy, and dry it in the Sun. And then they dip it in black mud, and so let it ly about an hour, then take it and wash it in water: and now it will appear of a pale black. Then being dry, they dip it again into the aforesaid *Dy*, and it becomes a very good black.

The *Orula*, the Fruit good for Physick, and Dying.

Another use there is of this water. It is this: Let any rusty Iron ly a whole night in it, and it will become bright; and the water look black like Ink, insomuch that men may write with it. These Trees grow but in some Parts of the Land, and nothing near so plentiful as *Cinnamon*. The Berries the Drugsters in the City there, do sell in their Shops.

This water will brighten rusty Iron, and serve instead of Ink.

The *Douuekaia gauhah*, a shrub, bears leaves as broad as two fingers, and six or eight foot long, on both sides of them set full of Thorns, and a streak of Thorns runs thro the middle. These leaves they split to weave Matts withal. The Tree bears a *bud* above a span long, tapering somewhat like a Sugar-loaf. Leaves cover this bud folding it about, like the leaves of a *Cabbage*. Which leaves smell rarely sweet, and look of a lovely yellow colour like gold. This bud blowes into divers bunches of Flowers, spreading it self open like a *Plume of Feathers*, each Flower whitish, but very small. The *Roots* of this shrub they use for Ropes, splitting them into Thongs, and then making them into Ropes.

The *Douuekaia*.

The *Capita gauhah*, is a shrub never bigger than a mans arm. The Wood, Rind and Leaves have all a Physical smel; and they do sometimes make use of it for *Physic*. The Leaf is of a bright green, roundish, rough, and as big as the palm of an hand. No sort of Cattel will eat it, no, not the *Goats*, that will sometimes brouze upon rank poyson. There is abundance of these Trees every where, and they grow in all Countreys, but in *Ouvah*. And this is supposed to be the cause, that the *Ouvah*-Cattle dy, when they are brought thence to any other Country. They attribute it to the smell of this Tree, of such a venomous nature it is to Beasts. And therefore to destroy their *Fleas*, or to keep their houses clear of them, they sweep them with Brooms made of this shrub. 'Tis excellent good for firing, and will burn when it is green. There are no other coals the *Goldsmiths* use, but what are made of this wood.

The *Capita*.

Rattans grow in great abundance upon this Island. They run like *Honey-suckles* either upon the Ground, or up Trees, as it happens, near Twenty fathom in length. There is a kind of a shell or skin grows over the *Rattan*, and encloseth it round. Which serves for a Case to cover and defend it, when tender. This Skin is so full of prickles and thorns, that you cannot touch it. As the *Rattan* growes longer and stronger, this Case growes ripe, and falls off prickles and shell and all.

Rattans.

It bears fruit in clusters just like bunches of Grapes, and as big. Eve-

Its Fruit.

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Part I

ry particular Berry is covered with a husk like a Gooseberry, which is soft, yellow and scaly, like the scales of a Fish, handsome to look upon. This husk being cracked and broken, within grows a Plum of a whitish colour: within the Plum a stone, having meat about it. The people gather and boyl them to make sour pottage to quench the thirst.

Canes. *Canes* grow just like *Rattans*, and bear a fruit like them. The difference onely is, that the *Canes* are larger.

The *Betel* Tree. The Tree that bears the *Betel-leaf*, which is so much loved and eaten in these parts, growes like *Ivy*, twining about Trees, or Poles, which they stick in the ground, for it to run up by: and as the *Betel* growes, the Poles grow also. The form of the Leaf is longish, the end somewhat sharp, broadest next to the stalk, of a bright green, very smooth, just like a *Pepper* leaf, onely different in the colour, the Pepper leaf being of a dark green. It bears a fruit just like long *Pepper*, but not good for seed, for it falls off and rots upon the ground. But when they are minded to propagate it, they plant the spriggs, which will grow.

The *Bo-gaubah*, or God-Tree. I shall mention but one Tree more as famous and highly set by as any of the rest, if not more, tho it bear no fruit, the benefit consisting chiefly in the Holiness of it. This Tree they call *Bo-gahah*; we, the *God-Tree*. It is very great and spreading, the Leaves always shake like an *Asp*. They have a very great veneration for these Trees, worshipping them; upon a Tradition, That the *Buddou*, a great God among them, when he was upon the Earth, did use to sit under this kind of Trees. There are many of these Trees, which they plant all the Land over, and have more care of, than of any other. They pave round under them like a Key, sweep often under them to keep them clean; they light Lamps, and set up their Images under them: and a stone Table is placed under some of them to lay their Sacrifices on. They set them every where in Towns and High wayes, where any convenient places are: they serve also for shade to Travellers. They will also set them in memorial of persons deceased, to wit, there, where their Bodies were burnt. It is held meritorious to plant them, which, they say, he that does, shall dy within a short while after, and go to Heaven: But the oldest men onely that are neareſt death in the course of Nature, do plant them, and none else; the younger sort desiring to live a little longer in this World before they go to the other.

CHAP. V.

Of their Roots, Plants, Herbs, Flowers.

Roots for Food. SOme of these are for *Food*, and some for *Medicine*. I begin with their *Roots*, which with the *Jacks* before mentioned, being many, and generally bearing well, are a great help towards the sustenance of this People. These by the *Chingulays* by a general name are called *Alloes*, by the *Portugals* and us *Inyames*. They are of divers and sundry sorts, some they plant, and some grow wild; those that grow wild

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wild in the Woods are as good, onely they are more ſcarce and grow deeper, and ſo more difficult to be plucked up. It would be to no purpoſe to mention their particular names; I ſhall onely ſpeak a little in general of them. They ſerve both for Food, and for *Carrees*, that is, ſauce, or for a reliſh to their Rice. But they make many a meal of them alone to lengthen out their Rice, or for want of it: and of theſe there is no want to thoſe that will take pains but to ſet them, and cheap enough to thoſe that will buy. Chap. 5.

There are two ſorts of theſe *Alloes*; ſome require Trees or Sticks to run up on; others require neither. Of the former ſort, ſome will run up to the tops of very large Trees, and ſpread out very full of branches, and bear great bunches of bloſſoms, but no uſe made of them; The Leaves dy every year, but the Roots grow ſtill, which ſome of them will do to a prodigious bigneſs within a Year or two's time, becoming as big as a mans waſt. The faſhion of them ſomewhat roundiſh, rugged and uneven, and in divers odd ſhapes, like a log of cleft wood: they have a very good, ſavoury mellow taſt. The manner of their growing.

Of thoſe that do not run up on Trees, there are likewiſe ſundry ſorts; they bear a long ſtalk and a broad leaf; the faſhion of theſe Roots are ſomewhat roundiſh, ſome grow out like a mans fingers, which they call *Angul-alloes*, as much as to ſay *Finger-Roots*; ſome are of a white colour, ſome of a red.

Thoſe that grow in the Woods run deeper into the Earth, they run up Trees alſo. Some bear bloſſoms ſomewhat like *Hopps*, and they may be as big as a mans Arm.

For *Herbs* to boyl and eat with Butter they have excellent good ones, and ſeveral ſorts: ſome of them are ſix months growing to maturity, the ſtalk as high as a man can reach, and being boyled almoſt as good as *Aſparagus*. There are of this ſort, ſome having leaves and ſtalks as red as blood, ſome green: ſome the leaves green, and the ſtalk very white. Boyling Herbs.

They have ſeveral other ſorts of Fruits which they dreſs and eat with their Rice, and taſt very ſavoury, called *Carowela*, *Wattacul*, *Morongo*, *Cacorehouns*, &c. the which I cannot compare to any things that grow here in *England*. Fruits for ſawce.

They have of our *Engliſh* Herbs and Plants, *Colworts*, *Carrots*, *Radiſhes*, *Fennel*, *Balſam*, *Spearmint*, *Muſtard*. Theſe, excepting the two laſt, are not the natural product of the Land, but they are tranſplanted hither; By which I perceive all other *European* Plants would grow there: They have alſo *Fern*, *Indian* Corn. Several ſorts of *Beans* as good as theſe in *England*: right *Cucumbers*, *Calabaſſes*, and ſeveral ſorts of *Pumkins*, &c. The *Dutch* on that Iſland in their Gardens have *Lettice*, *Roſemary*, *Sage*, and all other Herbs and Sallettings that we have in theſe Countreys. European Herbs and Plants among them.

Nor are they worſe ſupplyed with *Medicinal* Herbs. The Woods are their *Apothecaries* Shops, where with Herbs, Leaves, and the Rinds of Trees they make all their *Phyſic* and *Plaiſters*, with which ſometimes they will do notable Cures. I will not here enter into a larger diſcourſe of the Medicinal Vertues of their Plants, &c. of which there are hundreds: onely as a Specimen thereof, and likewiſe of their Skill to uſe them; I will relate a Paſſage or two. A Neighbour of mine a *Chingulay*, would undertake to cure a broken Leg or Arm by Herbs for Medicine.

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Part I. application of ſome Herbs that grow in the Woods, and that with that ſpeed, that the broken Bone after it was ſet ſhould knit by the time one might boyl a pot of Rice and three *carrees*, that is about an hour and an half or two hours; and I knew a man who told me he was thus cured. They will cure an *Impoſthume* in the Throat with the Rind of a Tree called *Amaranga*, (whereof I my ſelf had the experience;) by chawing it for a day or two after it is prepared, and ſwallowing the ſpittle. I was well in a day and a Night, tho before I was exceedingly ill, and could not ſwallow my Victuals.

Their Flowers. Of *Flowers* they have great varieties, growing wild, for they plant them not. There are *Roſes* red and white, ſcented like ours: ſeveral ſorts of ſweet ſmelling Flowers, which the young Men and Women gather and tie in their hairs to perfume them; they tie up their hair in a bunch behind, and encloſe the Flowers therein.

A Flower that ſerves inſtead of a Dial. There is one Flower deſerves to be mentioned for the rarity and uſe of it, they call it a *Sindric-mal*, there are of them ſome of a Murry colour, and ſome white. Its Nature is, to open about four a clock in the Evening, and ſo continueth open all Night until the morning, when it cloſeth up it ſelf till four a clock again. Some will tranſplant them out of the Woods into their Gardens to ſerve them inſtead of a Clock, when it is cloudy that they cannot ſee the *Sun*.

There is another white Flower like our *Jaſmine*, well ſcented, they call them *Picha-mauls*, which the King hath a parcel of brought to him every morning, wrapt in a white cloth, hanging upon a ſtaff, and carried by people, whoſe peculiar office this is. All people that meet theſe Flowers. out of reſpect to the King, for whoſe uſe they are, muſt turn out of the Way; and ſo they muſt for all other things that go to the King being wrapt up in white cloth. Theſe Officers hold Land of the King for this ſervice: their Office is, alſo to plant theſe Flowers, which they uſually do near the Rivers where they moſt delight to grow: Nay, they have power to plant them in any mans Ground, and encloſe that ground when they have done it for the ſole uſe of their Flowers to grow in: which Incloſures they will keep up for ſeveral years, until the Ground becomes ſo worn, that the Flowers will thrive there no longer, and then the Owners reſume their own Lands again.

Hop-Mauls, are Flowers growing upon great Trees, which bear nothing elſe, they are rarely ſweet ſcented; this is the chief Flower the young people uſe; and is of greateſt value among them.

CHAP. VI.

Of their Beaſts, Tame and Wild. Inſects.

What Beaſts the Country produceth. HAving ſpoken concerning the Trees and Plants of this Iſland, We will now go on to ſpeak of the *Living Creatures* on it, *viz.* Their Beaſts, Inſects, Birds, Fiſh, Serpents, &c. uſeful or noxious. And we begin firſt with their *Beaſts*. They have *Cowes, Buffaloes, Hogs, Goats, Deer, Hares, Dogs, Jacols, Apes, Tygers, Bears, Elephants*, and other Wild Beaſts. *Lions, Wolves, Horſes, Aſſes, Sheep*, they have none.

Deer

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Deer are in great abundance in the Woods, and of ſeveral ſorts, from the largeneſs of a *Cow* or *Buffalo*, to the ſmalneſs of a *Hare*. For here is a Creature in this Land no bigger, but in every part rightly reſembleth a *Deer*, It is called *Memmna*, of colour gray with white ſpots, and good meat. Chap. 6. Deer no bigger than Hares.

Here are alſo wild *Buffalo's*; alſo a ſort of Beaſt they call *Gauvera*, ſo much reſembling a Bull, that I think it one of that kind. His back ſtands up with a ſharp ridg; all his four feet white up half his Legs. I never ſaw but one, which was kept among the Kings Creatures. Here was a Black *Tygre* catched and brought to the King, and afterwards a *Deer* milk white; both which he very much eſteemed; there being no more either before or ſince ever heard of in that Land. Other Creatures rare in their kind.

If any deſire to know how this *white Deer* was caught, it was thus; This Deer was obſerved to come on Evenings with the reſt of the Herd to a great Pond to drink; the People that were ordered to catch this Deer, fenced the Pond round and plain about it with high ſtakes, leaving onely one wide gap. The men after this done lay in ambuſh, each with his bundle of Stakes ready cut. In the Evening the Deer came with the reſt of the Herd to drink according to their wont. As ſoon as they were entred within the ſtakes, the men in ambuſh fell to their work, which was to fence in the gap left, which, there being little leſs than a Thouſand men, they ſoon did; and ſo all the Herd were eaſily caught; and this among the reſt. The way how a Wild Deer was catched.

The King hath alſo an *Elephant* ſpotted or ſpeckled all the body over, which was lately caught; and tho he hath many and very ſtately *Elephants*, and may have as many more as he pleaſes, yet he prefers this before them all. And ſince I am fallen upon diſcourſe of the *Elephant*, the creature that this Countrey is famed for above any in *India*, I will detain my ſelf a little longer upon it. Of their Elephants. The way of catching Elephants.

I will firſt relate the manner of taking them, and afterwards their Sagacity, with other things that occur to my memory concerning them. This Beaſt, tho he be ſo big and wiſe, yet he is eaſily catched. When the King commands to catch *Elephants*, after they have found them they like, that is ſuch as have Teeth; for tho there be many in the Woods, yet but few have Teeth, and they males onely: unto theſe they drive ſome *She-Elephants*, which they bring with them for the purpoſe; which when once the *males* have got a ſight of, they will never leave, but follow them whereſoever they go; and the *females* are ſo uſed to it, that they will do whatſoever either by a word or a beck their Keepers bid them; and ſo they delude them along thro Towns and Countreys, thro the Streets of the City, even to the very Gates of the Kings *Palace*; Where ſometimes they ſeize upon them by ſnares, and ſometimes by driving them into a kind of Pound, they catch them. After they have brought the Elephant which is not yet caught together with the *She*, into the Kings preſence, if it likes him not, he commands to let him go; if it does, he appoints him ſome certain place near unto the City, where they are to drive him with the Females; for without them it is not poſſible to make him ſtay; and to keep him in that place until the Kings further order and pleaſure is to catch him, which perhaps may not be in two or three or four Years; All which time there are great men with Souldiers appointed to watch there about him: and if he ſhould chance to ſtray a little out of his bounds

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Part I. bounds set by the King, immediately they bring him back, fearing the Kings displeasure, which is no less than death it self. Here these *Elephants* do, and may do, great dammage to the Country, by eating up their Corn, and trampling it with their broad feet, and throwing down their *Coker-Nut Trees*, and oftentimes their Houses too, and they may not resist them. It is thought this is done by the King to punish them that ly under his displeasure. And if you ask what becomes of these *Elephants* at last; sometimes after they have thus kept watch over them two or three Years, and destroyed the Countrey in this manner, the King will send order to carry them into the Woods, and let them go free. For he catcheth them not for any use or benefit he hath by them, but onely for his recreation and pastime.

The understanding of Elephants. Their Nature. As he is the greatest in body, so in understanding also. For he will do any thing that his Keeper bids him, which is possible for a Beast not having hands to do. And as the *Chingulayes* report, they bear the greatest love to their young of all irrational Creatures; for the Shees are alike tender of any ones young ones as of their own: where there are many *She-Elephants* together, the young ones go and suck of any, as well as of their Mothers; and if a young one be in distress and should cry out, they will all in general run to the help and aid thereof; and if they be going over a River, as here be some somewhat broad, and the streams run very swift, they will all with their Trunks assist and help to convey the young ones over. They take great delight to ly and tumble in the water, and will swim excellently well. Their Teeth they never shed. Neither will they ever breed tame ones with tame ones; but to ease themselves of the trouble to bring them meat, they will ty their two fore-feet together, and put them into the Woods, where meeting with the wild ones, they conceive and go one Year with young.

The damage they do. It is their constant practice to shove down with their heads great Trees, which they love to eat, when they be too high, and they cannot otherwise reach the boughs. Wild ones will run much faster than a man, but tame ones not. The People stand in fear of them, and oftentimes are kill'd by them. They do them also great dammage in their Grounds, by Night coming into their Fields and eating up their Corn and likewise their *Coker-nut-Trees*, &c. So that in Towns near unto the Woods, where are plenty of them, the people are forced to watch their Corn all Night, and also their Outyards and Plantations; into which being once entred with eating and trampling they will do much harm, before they can get them out. Who oftentimes when by lighting of Torches, and hollowing, they will not go out, take their Bowes and go and shoot them, but not without some hazard, for sometimes the Elephant runs upon them and kills them. For fear of which they will not adventure unless there be Trees, about which they may dodg to defend themselves. And altho here be both *Bears* and *Tygers* in these Woods, yet they are not so fierce, as commonly to assault people; Travellers and Way-faring men go more in fear of *Elephants* than of any other Beasts.

Serve the King for Executing Malefactors. The King makes use of them for *Executioners*; they will run their Teeth through the body, and then taer it in pieces, and throw it limb from limb. They have sharp Iron with a socket with three edges, which they put on their Teeth at such times; for the Elephants that

are

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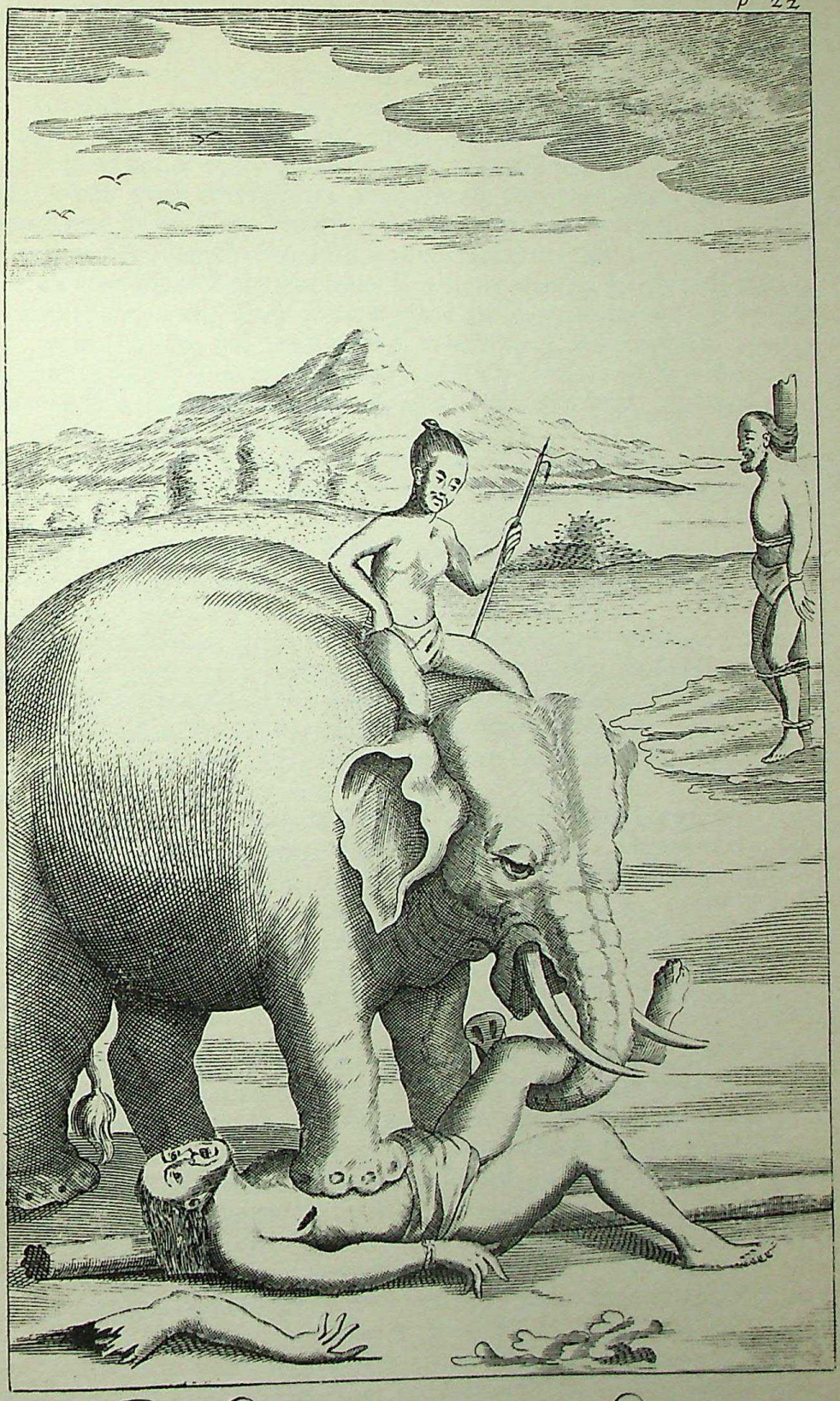

An Execution by an Eliphant.

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are kept have all the ends of their Teeth cut to make them grow the better, and they do grow out again. Chap. 6.

At some uncertain seasons the males have an infirmity comes on them, that they will be stark mad, so that none can rule them. Many times it so comes to pass that they with their Keepers on their backs, run raging until they throw them down and kill them: but commonly there is notice of it before, by an Oyl that will run out of their cheeks, which when that appears, immediately they chain them fast to great Trees by the Legs. For this infirmity they use no Medicine, neither is he sick: but the females are never subject to this. Their Diseases.

The Keepers of the Kings Elephants sometimes make a sport with them after this manner. They will command an Elephant to take up water, which he does, and stands with it in his Trunk, till they command him to squirt it out at some body, which he immediately will do, it may be a whole paleful together, and with such a force, that a man can hardly stand against it. The Sport they make.

There are *Ants* of several sorts, and some worthy our remark. Ants of divers sorts.

First of all, there are the *Coumbias*, a sort of small reddish Ants like ours in *England*.

Secondly, the *Tale-Coumbias*, as small as the former but blackish. These usually live in hollow Trees or rotten Wood, and will sting most terribly.

Thirdly, the *Dimbios*, great red *Ants*. These make their nests upon the Boughs of great Trees, bringing the Leaves together in clusters, it may be as big as a mans head; in which they lay their Eggs and breed. There will be oftentimes many nests of these upon one Tree, insomuch that the people are afraid to go up to gather the Fruits lest they should be stung by them.

A fourth sort of *Ants* are those they call *Coura-atch*. They are great and black, living in the ground. Their daily practice is to bring up dirt out of the ground, making great hollow holes in the Earth, somewhat resembling *Cony-Burrows*; onely these are less, and run strait downwards for some way, and then turn away into divers paths under ground. In many places of the Land there are so many of these holes, that Cattle are ready to break their Legs as they go. These do not sting.

A fifth is the *Coddia*. This *Ant* is of an excellent bright black, and as large as any of the former. They dwell always in the ground; and their usual practice is, to be travelling in great multitudes, but I do not know where they are going, nor what their business is; but they pass and repass some forwards and some backwards in great hast, seemingly as full of employment as People that pass along the Streets. These *Ants* will bite desperately, as bad as if a man were burnt with a coal of fire. But they are of a noble nature: for they will not begin; and you may stand by them, if you do not tread upon them nor disturb them. The reason their bite is thus terribly painful is this; Formerly these Ants went to ask a Wife of the *Noya*, a venomous and noble kind of Snake; and because they had such an high spirit to dare to offer to be related to such a generous creature, they had this vertue bestowed upon them, that they should sting after this manner. And if they had obtained a Wife of the *Noya*, they should have had the priviledg to have s[illegible] This is a currant Fable among the How these *Coddia's* come to sting so terribly.

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Part I.

the *Chingulays*. Tho undoubtedly they chiefly regard the wiſedom that is concealed under this, and the reſt of their Fables.

Theſe Ants a very miſchievous ſort.

There is a ſixth ſort called *Vaeos*. Theſe are more numerous than any of the former. All the whole Earth doth ſwarm with them. They are of a middle ſize between the greateſt and the leaſt, the hinder part white, and the head red. They eat and devour all that they can come at; as beſides food, Cloth, Wood, Thatch of Houſes and every thing excepting Iron and Stone. So that the people cannot ſet any thing upon the ground within their houſes for them. They creep up the walls of their houſes, and build an *Arch* made of dirt over themſelves all the way as they climb, be it never ſo high. And if this *Arch* or Vault chance to be broken, they all, how high ſoever they were, come back again to mend up the breach, which being finiſhed they proceed forwards again, eating every thing they come at in their way. This Vermin does exceedingly annoy the *Chingulays*, inſomuch that they are continually looking upon any thing they value, to ſee if any of theſe *Vaeos* have been at it. Which they may eaſily perceive by this *Caſe* of dirt, which they cannot go up any where without building as they go. And whereſoever this is ſeen, no doubt the *Ants* are there.

The curious Buildings of the *Vaeos*.

In places where there are no houſes, and they can eat nothing belonging to the people, they will raiſe great Hills like *Butts*, ſome four or five or ſix foot high; which are ſo hard and ſtrong, that it would be work enough to dig them down with Pick-Axes. The *Chingulays* call theſe *Humboſſes*. Within they are full of hollow Vaults and Arches where they dwell and breed, and their neſts are much like to Honeycombs, full of eggs and young ones. Theſe *Humboſſes* are built with a pure refined Clay by the ingenious builders. The people uſe this Clay to make their Earthen Gods of, becauſe it is ſo pure and fine.

The manner of their death.

This ſort of creatures as they increaſe in multitudes, ſo they dy in multitudes alſo. For when they come to maturity they have wings, and in the Evening after the going down of the Sun, (never before) all thoſe that are fledged and ripe, will iſſue forth in ſuch vaſt numbers, that they do almoſt darken the Sky, flying to ſuch an height, as they go out of ſight, and ſo keep flying till they fall down dead at laſt upon the Earth. The Birds that tarry up late, and are not yet gone to rooſt, fly among them and make good Suppers of them.

The People in this Land never feed their *Poultry*. But they feed upon theſe *Ants*, which by ſcraping among the leaves and dirt they can never want; and they delight in them above Rice or any thing elſe. Beſides all theſe Ants already mentioned, there are divers other diſtinct ſorts of them.

Bees of ſeveral kinds.

But we will proceed to a more beneficial Inſect, the *Bee*. Of which there be three ſorts. The firſt are the *Meemaſſes*, which are the right *Engliſh Bees*. They build in hollow Trees, or hollow holes in the ground, which the *Vaeo's* have made. Into which holes the men blow with their mouths, and the Bees preſently fly out. And then they put in their hands, and pull out the Combs, which they put in Pots or Veſſels, and carry away. They are not afraid of their ſtinging in the leaſt, nor do they arm themſelves with any cloths againſt them.

Bees that build on Trees like Birds.

The ſecond are the *Bamburo's*, larger and of a brighter colour than our *Engliſh* Bees. Their Honey is thin like water comparatively. They make their Combs upon limbs of Trees, open and viſible to the Eye,

generally

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generally of a great height. At time of year whole Towns, forty or fifty in company together will go out into the Woods, and gather this honey, and come home laden with it for their use. Chap. 6.

The third sort they call *Connameia*, signifying a blind Bee. They are small like a Fly, and black. They build in hollow Trees; and their honey somewhat tarrish: and they make such small quantities of it, that the people little regard it. The Boyes will sometimes cut a hole and take it out.

When they meet with any swarms of Bees hanging on any Tree, they will hold Torches under to make them drop; and so catch them and carry them home. Which they boyl and eat, and esteem excellent food. The people eat the Bees, as well as their honey.

There is a sort of *Leaches* of the nature of ours, onely differing in colour and bigness. For they are of a dark reddish colour like the skin of Bacon, and as big as a Goose quill, in length some two or three inches. At first, when they are young, they are no bigger than a horse hair, so that they can scarce be seen. In dry weather none of them appear, but immediately upon the fall of Rains, the Grass and Woods are full of them. These *Leaches* seize upon the Legs of Travellers; who going barefoot according to the custom of that Land, have them hanging upon their Legs in multitudes, which suck their blood till their bellies are full, and then drop off. They come in such quantities, that the people cannot pull them off so fast as they crawl on. The blood runs pouring down their Legs all the way they go, and 'tis no little smart neither, so that they would willingly be without them if they could, especially those that have sores on their Legs; for they all gather to the sore. Leaches that ly in the grass, and creep on Travellers Legs.

Some therefore will tie a piece of *Lemon* and *Salt* in a rag and fasten it unto a stick, and ever and anon strike it upon their Legs to make the Leaches drop off: others will scrape them off with a reed cut flat and sharp in the fashion of a knife. But this is so troublesom, and they come on again so fast and so numerous, that it is not worth their while: and generally they suffer them to bite and remain on their Legs during their Journey; and they do the more patiently permit them, because it is so wholsome for them. When they come to their Journeys end they rub all their Legs with ashes, and so clear themselves of them at once: but still the blood will remain dropping a great while after. But they are most annoyed by them when they go out to stool a-Nights, being small and of the colour of their bodies, so that they can neither see nor feel to pull them off. And these, tho they be in such quantities in some of these Countreys, yet in others there are none at all, nor ever were known to have been. But besides these, there are *Water Leaches* the same with ours. The remedies they use against them.

Monkeys. Of which there are abundance in the Woods, and of divers sorts, some so large as our *English Spaniel Dogs*, of a darkish gray colour, and black faces, with great white beards round from ear to ear, which makes them shew just like old men. There is another sort just of the same bigness, but differ in colour, being milk white both in body and face, having great beards like the others; of this sort of white ones there is not such plenty. But both these sorts do but little mischief, keeping in the Woods, eating onely leaves and buds of Trees, but when they are catched, they will eat any thing. This sort Apes and Monkeys of divers kinds.

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Part I.

they call in their Language, *Wanderows*. There is yet another sort of *Apes*, of which there is great abundance, who coming with such multitudes do a great deal of mischief to the Corn, that groweth in the Woods, so that they are fain all the day long to keep Watch to scare them out: and so soon as they are gone to fray them away at one end of the Field; others who wait for such an opportunity come skipping in at the other; and before they can turn, will fill both bellies and hands full, to carry away with them; and to stand all round to guard their Fields is more than they can do. This sort of *Monkeys* have no beards, white faces, and long hair on the top of their heads, which parteth and hangeth down like a mans. These are so impudent that they will come into their Gardens, and eat such Fruit as grows there. They call these *Rillowes*. The flesh of all these sorts of *Apes* they account good to eat. There are several sorts of *Squirrels* also, which they do eat when they can catch them.

Before I make an end of my discourse of their Beasts, it may be worth while to relate the ways they use to catch them. At which they are very crafty.

How they catch wild Beasts.

For the *catching of Deer* or other wild Beasts, they have this ingenious device. In dark Moons when there are drisling Rains, they go about this design. They have a basket made with canes somewhat like unto a funnel, in which they put a potsheard with fire in it, together with a certain wood, which they have growing there, full of sap like pitch, and that will burn like a pitch-barrel. This being kindled in the potsheard flames, and gives an exceeding light. They carry it upon their heads with the flame foremost; the basket hiding him that is under it, and those that come behind it. In their hands they carry three or four small bells, which they tingle as they go, that the noyse of their steps should not be heard. Behind the man that carries the light, go men with Bowes and Arrows. And so they go walking along the Plains, and by the Pond sides, where they think the *Deer* will come out to feed. Which when they see the light, stand still and stare upon it, seeing onely the light, and hearing nothing but the tingling of the bells.

The eyes of the *Deer* or other Cattle first appear to them glistering like Stars of light or Diamonds: and by their long experience they will distinguish one Beast from another by their eyes. All Creatures, as Deer, Hares, Elephants, Bears,&c. excepting onely wild Hogs,will stand still, wondering at this strange sight, till the people come as near as they do desire, and so let fly their Arrows upon them. And by this means they seldom go, but they catch something. The blades of their hunting-Arrowes are at least a foot or a foot and an half long, and the length of the staff of their Arrowes is a *Rian*, that is about two cubits.

Again, they will observe where a Deers haunt is to break over their Hedges into the Corn Grounds. There they will set a sharp pole like a Spear full against the Haunt. So that the Deer when she leaps over thrusts her self upon the point of it.

If a *Tyger* chance to come into their Grounds and kill a *Cow*, they will take notice of the place thro which he passed, and set a Cross-bow there ready charged. The *Tyger* coming that way again touches something that is fastned to the tricker of the Cross-bow, and so it discharges upon him.

The

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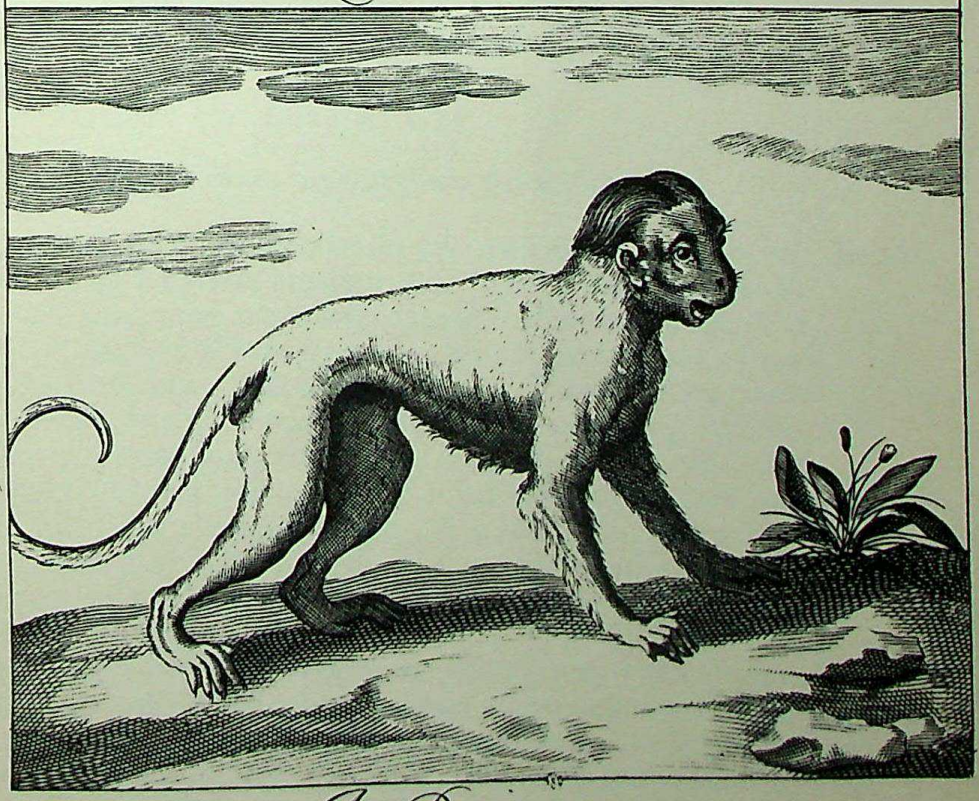
A Wanderow.



A Rillow.

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The *wild Hog* is of all other the hardeſt to be caught; and 'tis dangerous to attempt the catching of him. For the people make valour to conſiſt in three things, one is *to fight againſt the Enemy*, another *to hunt the Elephant*, and the third *to catch Hoggs*. Yet ſometimes by their art they entrap them. And that they do after this manner. They dig an hole in the Earth of a convenient depth, and fix divers ſharp ſtakes in the bottom of it. Then they cover it over lightly with Earth and Leaves, and plant thereupon roots which the Hog loves, as *Potatoes* or ſuch like, which will grow there. And the pit remains, it may be ſometimes months or half a year, till at laſt an *Hog* comes, and while he is rooting his weight betrayes him and in he falls. Chap. 7. How they take the Wild Boar.

Again, ſometimes they will ſet a falling trap of an exceeding weight, and under it plant Roots and ſuch like things, which the Hog delights in. There are contrivances under the weeds and leaves, which when he goes to eat by touching or treading upon ſomething faſtned to the trap, it falls down upon him. Theſe are made ſo artificially, that people ſometimes have been caught and deſtroyed by them. Once ſuch a trap in my remembrance fell upon three women and killed them. Who having been ſtealing Cotton in a Plantation, and fearing to be catched went to creep out at a hole, where this Trap ſtood.

And thus I have related ſome of their ways of taking wild Cattel. They are good alſo at catching Birds and Vermin; In fine, they are the cunningeſt people in the World for ſuch kind of traps and gins. And all of them they make onely by the help of their Knives with green ſticks and withs that grow in the Woods. And ſo much of their *Beaſts*.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Birds, Fiſh, Serpents, Commodities.

IN the next place I will entertain you with ſome relation of the other living Creatures among them. I begin with their *Birds*. Their Birds.

In that Land there are *Crowes*, *Sparrowes*, *Tom-titts*, *Snipes*, juſt like theſe in *England*, *Wood-Pigeons* alſo, but not great flocks of any ſorts, as we have, onely of *Crowes* and *Pigeons*. I have ſeen there Birds juſt like *Woodcocks* and *Partridges*, but they are ſcarce. A great many wild *Peacocks*: ſmall green *Parrots*, but not very good to talk. But here is another Bird in their Language called *Mal-cowda*, which with teaching will ſpeak excellently well. It is black with yellow gills about the bigneſs of a *Black-Bird*: And another ſort there is of the ſame bigneſs, called *Cau-cowda*, yellow like gold, very beautiful to the eye, which alſo might be taught to ſpeak. Such as will be taught to ſpeak.

Here are other ſorts of ſmall Birds, not much bigger than a *Sparrow*, very lovely to look on, but I think good for nothing elſe: ſome being in colour white like Snow, and their tayl about one foot in length, and their heads black like jet, with a tuft like a plume of Feathers ſtanding upright thereon. There are others of the ſame ſort onely differing in colour, being reddiſh like a ripe *Orange*, and on the head a Plume of black Feathers ſtanding up. I ſuppoſe, one may be the *Cock*, and the other the *Hen*. Such as are beautiful for colour.

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Part I.

A strange Bird.

Here is a sort of Bird they call *Carlo*, which never lighteth on the ground, but always sets on very high Trees. He is as big as a *Swan*, the colour black, the Legs very short, the Head monstrous, his Bill very long, a little rounding like a *Hawks*, and white on each side of the head, like ears: on the top of the crown groweth out a white thing, somewhat like to the comb of a Cock; commonly they keep four or five of them together; and always are hopping from bough to bough; They are seldom silent, but continually make a roaring noyse, somewhat like the quacking of a Duck, that they may be heard at least a mile off; the reason they thus cry, the *Chingulayes* say, is for Rain, that they may drink. The bodies of these Fowls are good to eat.

Water-Fowls resembling Ducks and Swans.

Here is a sort of Bird very much resembling a *Duck*, but not very plentiful. And another sort of Fowl as big as a *Duck*, cole black, which liveth altogether upon Fish. It is admirable to see, how long they will remain under water, and at what a distance they will rise again. Besides these, there are many other kinds of Birds, much larger than *Swans*, which keep about the Ponds and Marshes to catch Fish, but the people eat them not: Nature hath endowed them with an admirable understanding, that they are not to be catched by the *Allegators*, tho there be many of them in those waters.

Peacocks.

The *Peacocks* in rainy weather are sometimes hunted and caught by Dogs; for their Feathers being wet, they are uncapable of flying far.

The King keeps Fowl.

The King hath *Geese*, *Ducks*, *Turkeys*, *Pigeons*, which he keeps tame, but none else may. *Turkeys* he delights not in, because they change the colour of their heads: Neither doth he kill any of these to eat, nor any other creature of what sort soever, and he hath many, that he keeps tame.

Their Fish.

They have no want of Fish, and those good ones too. All little Rivers and Streams running thro the Valleys are full of small Fish, but the Boyes and others wanting somewhat to eat with their Rice, do continually catch them before they come to maturity: nay all their Ponds are full of them, which in dry weather drying up, the people catch

How they catch them in Ponds.

multitudes of them in this manner. They have a kind of a Basket made of small Sticks, so close that Fish cannot get thro; it is broad at bottom, and narrow at top, like a funnel, the hole big enough for a man to thrust his Arm in, wide at the mouth about two or three foot; these baskets they jobb down, and the ends stick in the mud, which often happen upon a Fish; when they do, they feel it by the Fish beating it self against the sides. Then they put in their hands and take them out. And rieve a Rattan thro their gills, and so let them drag after them. One end of this Rattan is stuck in the fisher's girdle, and the other knotted, that the fish should not slip off: which when it is full, he discharges himself of them by carrying them ashore. Nay every ditch and little plash of water but anckle deep hath fish in it.

How they catch Fish in the River.

The great River, *Mavela-gonga*, abounds exceedingly with them. Some of them as big as *Salmons*. But the people have little understanding in the way of taking them. In very dry weather, they stretch a *With* over the River, which they hang all full of boughs of Trees to scare the Fish. This *With* thus hung they drag down with the stream, and to *Leeward* they place *Fish-pots* between the Rocks, and so drive the

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Their manner of Fishing.

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the Fiſh into them. Nets or other wayes they have few or none. Chap. 7.

At a Paſſage-place near to the City of *Candy*, the Fiſh formerly have been nouriſhed and fed by the Kings order, to keep them there for his *Majeſties* pleaſure; whither, having uſed to be thus provided for, notwithſtanding Floods and ſtrong Streams, they will ſtill reſort: and are ſo tame, that I have ſeen them eat out of mens hands; but death it is to them that preſume to catch them. The people paſſing over here, will commonly feed them with ſome of their Rice, accounting it a piece of charity ſo to do, and pleaſure to ſee them eat it. In many other places alſo there are Fiſh thus fed and kept onely for the Kings Recreation: for he will never let any be catched for his uſe. Fiſh kept and fed for the Kings pleaſure.

Of *Serpents*, there are theſe ſorts. The *Pimberah*, the body whereof is as big as a mans middle, and of a length proportionable. It is not ſwift, but by ſubtilty will catch his prey; which are *Deer* or other Cattel; He lyes in the path where the Deer uſe to paſs, and as they go, he claps hold of them by a kind of peg that growes on his tayl, with which he ſtrikes them. He will ſwallow a Roe Buck whole, horns and all; ſo that it happens ſometimes the horns run thro his belly, and kill him. A *Stag* was caught by one of theſe *Pimberahs*, which ſeiſed him by the buttock, and held him ſo faſt, that he could not get away, but ran a few ſteps this way and that way. An *Indian* ſeeing the Stag run thus, ſuppoſed him in a ſnare, and having a Gun ſhot him; at which he gave ſo ſtrong a jerk, that it pulled the Serpents head off, while his tayl was encompaſſing a Tree to hold the Stag the better. Serpents. The *Pimberah* of a prodigious bigneſs.

There is another venomous Snake called *Polongo*, the moſt venomous of all, that kills Cattel. Two ſorts of them I have ſeen, the one green, the other of a reddiſh gray, full of white rings along the ſides, and about five or ſix foot long. The *Polonga*.

Another poyſonous Snake there is called *Noya*, of a grayiſh colour, about four foot long. This will ſtand with half his body upright two or three hours together, and ſpread his head broad open, where there appears like as it were a pair of ſpectacles painted on it. The *Indians* call this *Noy-Rogerati*, that is, a *Kings-Snake*, that will do no harm. But if the *Polonga* and the *Noya* meet together, they ceaſe not fighting till one hath kill'd the other. The *Noya*.

The reaſon and original of this fatal enmity between theſe two Serpents, is this, according to a Fable among the *Chingulays*. Theſe two chanced to meet in a dry Seaſon, when water was ſcarce. The *Polonga* being almoſt famiſhed for thirſt, asked the *Noya*, where he might go to find a little water. The *Noya* a little before had met with a bowl of water in which a Child lay playing. As it is uſual among this people to waſh their Children in a bowl of water, and there leave them to tumble and play in it. Here the *Noya* quenched his thirſt, but as he was drinking, the Child that lay in the bowl, out of his innocency and play, hit him on the Head with his hand, which the *Noya* made no matter of, but bare patiently, knowing it was not done out of any malice: and having drunk as much as ſufficed him, went away without doing the Child any harm. The Fable of the *Noya* and *Polonga*.

Being minded to direct the *Polonga* to this bowl, but deſirous withal to preſerve the Child, he told him, That he knew of water, but that he was ſuch a ſurly haſty creature, that he was fearful to let him know where it was, leſt he might do ſome miſchief; Making him therefore

promiſe

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Part I. promiſe that he would not, he then told him, that at ſuch a place there was a bowl of water with a Child playing in it, and that probably the Child might, as he was tumbling give him a pat on the Head, as he had done to him before, but charged him nevertheleſs not to hurt the Child, Which the *Polonga* having promiſed went his way towards the water, as the *Noya* had directed him. The *Noya* knowing his touchy diſpoſition, went after him, fearing he might do the Child a miſchief, and that thereby he himſelf might be deprived of the like benefit afterwards. It fell out as he feared. For as the *Polonga* drank, the Child patted him on the head, and he in his haſty humour bit him on the hand and killed him. The *Noya* ſeeing this, was reſolved to be revenged; and ſo reproaching him for his baſeneſs, fought him ſo long till he killed him, and after that devoured him. Which to this day they ever do, always fight when they meet, and the Conquerour eats the the body of the vanquiſhed. Hence the Proverb among the *Chingulayes*, when they ſee two men irreconcileable, they compare them to the *Polonga* and *Noya*, and ſay, *Noya Polonga waghe, like a Noya and Polonga.*

The *Carowala.* There is the *Carowala*, about two foot in length very poyſonous, that lurks in the holes and thatch of houſes. The Cats will ſeize theſe and kill and eat them.

Gerende. Other Snakes there are, called *Gerende*, whereof there are many but not venomous. Of the former there are but a few in compariſon. Theſe laſt mentioned the greateſt miſchief they do, is to deſtroy young Birds and Eggs, and young Hares. Rabbets cannot be kept here to run wild, becauſe of theſe and other Vermin, ſuch as Polecats, Ferrets, Weazels, &c.

Hickanella. *Hickanella*, much like a *Lizzard*, venomous, but ſeldom bites unleſs provoked, theſe ly in the thatch of the houſes.

A great Spider. There is a Spider called *Democulo*, very long black and hairy, ſpeckled and gliſtering. Its body is as big as a mans fiſt with feet proportionable. Theſe are very poyſonous; and they keep in hollow Trees and holes. Men bitten with them will not dy, but the pain will for ſome time put them out of their Sences.

Cattle are often bit by ſome of theſe *Snakes*, and as often found dead of them, tho not eaten. Treading upon them ſleeping, or the like, may be the cauſe of it. When the people are bitten by any of theſe, they are cured by Charms and Medicines, if taken and applyed in time.

There are alſo a ſort of Water Snakes they call *Duberria*; but harmleſs.

Alligators may be reduced hither: there be many of them. Of which we have ſaid ſomewhat before.

Kobbera-guion, a Creature like an *Alligator.* There is a Creature here called *Kobbera guion*, reſembling an *Alligator.* The biggeſt may be five or ſix foot long, ſpeckled black and white. He lives moſt upon the Land, but will take the water and dive under it: hath a long blew forked tongue like a ſting, which he puts forth

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forth and hiſſeth and gapeth, but doth not bite nor ſting, tho the appearance of him would ſcare thoſe that knew not what he was. He is not afraid of people, but will ly gaping and hiſſing at them in the way, and will ſcarce ſtir out of it. He will come and eat Carrion with the *Dogs* and *Jackals*, and will not be ſcared away by them, but if they come near to bark or ſnap at him, with his tayl, which is about an Ell long like a whip, he will ſo ſlaſh them, that they will run away and howl. This Creature is not eatable. Chap. 7.

But there is the *Tolla guion* very like the former, which is eaten, and reckoned excellent meat. The *Chingulays* ſay it is the beſt ſort of fleſh; and for this reaſon, That if you eat other fleſh at the ſame time you eat of this, and have occaſion to vomit, you will never vomit out this tho you vomit all the other. This creature eats not carrion, but only leaves and herbs; is leſs of ſize than the *Kobbera guion*, and blackiſh, lives in hollow Trees and holes in the Humboſſes: And I ſuppoſe is the ſame with that which in the *Weſt Indies* they call the *Guiana*. *Tolla-guion.*

This Countrey has its *Vermin* alſo. They have a ſort of *Rats*, they call *Musk-Rats*, becauſe they ſmell ſtrong of Musk. Theſe the Inhabitants do not eat of, but of all other ſort of Rats they do. The People eat Rats.

Before I conclude my diſcourſe of the *Growth* and *Product* of this Countrey, it will not be improper to reduce under this head its *Precious Stones*, *Minerals*, and other *Commodities*. Of which I ſhall briefly ſpeak, and ſo make an end of this *Firſt Part*.

In this Iſland are ſeveral ſorts of *Precious Stones*, which the King for his part has enough of, and ſo careth not to have more diſcovery made. For in certain places where they are known to be, are ſharp Poles ſet up fixed in the ground, ſignifying, that none upon pain of being ſtuck and impaled upon thoſe Poles, preſume ſo much as to go that way; Alſo there are certain Rivers, out of which it is generally reported they do take *Rubies* and *Saphires* for the Kings uſe, and *Cats eyes*. And I have ſeen ſeveral pretty coloured ſtones, ſome as big as Cherry-ſtones, ſome as Buttons, and tranſparent, but underſtood not what they were. *Rubies* and *Saphires* I my ſelf have ſeen here. Precious Stones.

Here is *Iron* and *Chriſtal* in great plenty. *Salt-Petre* they can make. *Brimſtone* ſome ſay, is here, but the King will not have it diſcovered. *Steel* they can make of their *Iron*. *Ebony* in great abundance, with choice of tall and large *Timber*. *Cardamums*, *Jaggory*, *Rack*, *Oyl*, *black Lead*, *Turmeric*, *Salt*, *Rice*, *Bettel-Nuts*, *Musk*, *Wax*, *Pepper*, Which laſt grows here very well, and might be in great plenty, if it had a vend. And the peculiar Commodity of the Iſland, *Cinnamon*. *Wild Cattel*, and *wild Honey* in great plenty in the Woods; it lyes in holes or hollow Trees, free for any that will take the pains to get it. *Elephants Teeth*, and *Cotton*, of which there is good plenty, growing in their own Grounds, ſufficient to make them good and ſtrong cloth for their own uſe, and alſo to ſell to the People of the *Uplands*, where *Cotton* is not ſo plenty. All theſe things the Land affords, and it might do it in much greater quantity, if the People were but laborious Minerals and other Commodities.

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Part I.

rious and induſtrious. But that they are not. For the *Chingulays* are Naturally, a people given to ſloth and lazineſs: if they can but any ways live, they abhor to work; onely what their neceſſities force them to, they do, that is, to get Food and Rayment. Yet in this I muſt a little vindicate them; For what indeed ſhould they do with more than Food and Rayment, ſeeing as their Eſtates encreaſe, ſo do their Taxes alſo? And altho the People be generally covetous, ſpending but little, ſcraping together what they can, yet ſuch is the Government they are under, that they are afraid to be known to have any thing, leſt it be taken away from them. Neither have they any encouragement for their induſtry, having no *Vend* by Traffic and Commerce for what they have got.

The People diſcouraged from Induſtry by the Tyranny they are under.

PART

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Rajah Singah the King of Ceylon

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PART II.

CHAP. I.

Of the present King of Cande.

HItherto I have treated of the Countrey, with the Provisions and Wealth of it: Our next Discourses shall be of the *Political Government* there exercised. And here Order will lead us to speak first of the King and Matters relating to him. The Government of this Island.

Antiently this Countrey consisted of Nine Kingdoms, all which had their several Kings; but now by the vicissitude of Times and Things, they are all reduced under one King, who is an absolute *Tyrant*, and Rules the most arbitrarily of any King in the World. We will first speak of him as to his *Personal Capacity*, and next as to his *Political*.

In his *Personal Capacity*, are to be considered his *Birth* and *Parentage*, his *Person*, his *Relations*, his *State*, his *Manners*, his *Pleasures* and *Recreations*, his *Religion*.

Radga-Singa is his Name, which signifies a *Lyon-King*. He is not of the right Descent of the *Royal-Blood*. For the former King deceased leaving his Queen a Widow, and two young Princes, which he had issue by her. She was a *Christian*, having been baptized by the *Portuguez*, and named *Dona Catharina*. She afterwards married to the *Chief Priest*, whom in their Language they call *Tirinanxy*. And by him had this Son, the present King. The *Tirinanx* his Father reigned and ruled the Land during the minority of the young Princes: but being aged, he divided the Countrey between the three Princes by Lot, intending *Conde Uda*, which is the best part of the Land, for his own Son, *Radga-Singa*. Which was obtained by this device. The names of the three Kingdoms being written on three Papers, were put into a Pot, and one was appointed, who knew the matter to take them out, and deliver them one to each, beginning with the Eldest, craftily delivering that which had *Conde Uda* written in it unto *Radga-Singa*; and so it came to pass according to the old Kings determination. All these three in the beginning of their Reigns joyned together against the *Portuguez*, but soon after fell out among themselves, and this King in the end prevailed, and got all the Countrey. *Danna Polla Rodgerah* the youngest, King of *Mautoly*, being overthrown, fled down to the *Portuguez* to *Columba*, who sent him to *Goa*, where he dyed. The other named *Comaure-Singa*, King of *Owvah*, dyed in *Cande*. The King's Lineage.

As to the *Person* of the present King. He is not tall, but very well set, nor of the cleerest colour of their complexion, but somewhat of the blackest; great rowling Eyes, turning them and looking every way, alwayes moving them: a brisk bold look, a great swelling Belly, and very lively in his actions and behaviour, somewhat bald, not having much hair upon his head, and that gray, a large comely Beard, with great Whiskers; in conclusion, a very comely man. He bears his His Person, Meen, and Habit.

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Chap. 11. his years well, being between Seventy and Eighty years of age; and tho an Old man, yet appears not to be like one, neither in countenance nor action. His Apparel is very ſtrange and wonderful, not after his own Countrey-faſhion, or any other, being made after his own invention. On his head he wears a Cap with four corners like a *Jeſuits* three teer high, and a Feather ſtanding upright before, like that in the head of a fore-horſe in a Team, a long band hanging down his back after the *Portuguez* faſhion, his Doublet after ſo ſtrange a ſhape, that I cannot well deſcribe it, the body of one, and the ſleeves of another colour; He wears long Breeches to his Anckles, Shoes and Stockings. He doth not always keep to one faſhion, but changes as his fancy leads him: but always when he comes abroad, his Sword hangs by his ſide in a belt over his ſhoulder: which no *Chingulays* dare wear, only white men may: a Gold Hilt, and Scabberd moſt of beaten Gold. Commonly he holdeth in his hand a ſmall *Cane*, painted of divers colours, and towards the lower end ſet round about with ſuch ſtones, as he hath, and pleaſeth, with a head of Gold.

His Queen, and Children.

His right and lawful Queen, who was a *Malabar*, brought from the *Coaſt*, is ſtill living, but hath not been with him, as is known, this Twenty years, remaining in the City of *Cande*, where he left her; She wants indeed neither maintenance nor attendance, but never comes out of the Palace. Several Noble-mens Daughters hold Land for this Service, *viz.* to come to her Court in their turns to wait upon her Majeſty. She bare him a *Prince*, but what became of him, ſhall hereafter be ſhewn. He had alſo a Daughter by Her, ſhe came alſo in her Youth to a piteous and unfortunate death, as I ſhall relate in its place.

His Palace, Situation and Deſcription of it.

He keeps his Court at *Digligy neur*, whither he fled in a Rebellion againſt him. His Palace ſtands adjoyning to a great Hill, which was before mentioned; near unto that part of the Hill next abutting upon his Court none dares preſume to ſet his foot: that being for his ſafeguard to fly unto in time of need. The *Palace* is walled about with a Clay Wall, and Thatched, to prevent the Claye's being melted by the Rains, which are great and violent: Within this Wall it is all full of houſes; moſt of which are low and thatched; but ſome are two Stories high, and tyled very handſomely, with open *Galleries* for Air, rayled about with turned Baniſters, one Ebony, and one painted, but not much Proſpect, ſtanding between two Hills. And indeed the King lives there not ſo much for pleaſure as ſecurity. The Palace it ſelf hath many large and ſtately Gates two leaved; theſe Gates, with their Poſts, excellently carved; the Iron work thereunto belonging, as Bolts and Locks, all rarely engraven. The Windows inlayd with Silver Plates and *Ebony*. On the top of the houſes of his Palace and Treaſury, ſtand *Earthen Pots* at each corner; which are for ornament; or which is a newer faſhion, ſomething made of Earth reſembling Flowers and Branches. And no Houſes beſides, except Temples, may have theſe placed upon them. The contrivance of his Palace is, as I may ſay, like *Woodſtock Bower*, with many turnings and windings, and doors, he himſelf having ordered and contrived all theſe Buildings, and the manner of them. At all the Doors and Paſſages ſtand Watches: and they who thus give attendance are not to paſs without ſpecial Order from one place to another, but are to remain in that place or at that Gate, where

the

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the King hath appointed them. By means of theſe contrivances it is not eaſie to know in what part or place his Perſon is, neither doth he care they ſhould. Chap. 7.

He has ſtrong Watches night and day about his Court. And they are his *Grandees*, who themſelves in perſon watch in certain places, where the King himſelf appoints them: and they dare not be abſent from thence, without it be to go to eat, or upon ſuch like occaſions. At Night they all have their ſet places within the Court, where they cannot one come to the ſpeech of the other, neither dare they that are near together, or in ſight one of the other, ſo much as come and ſit together and talk, to paſs away the Nights. All theſe great men have Souldiers under them, and they are alſo to come by turns to watch a the Court. But at Night as their *Maſters* and *Commanders* watch within the Walls, ſo they muſt watch without, in outward Courts and Guards; neither dare any of them be ſeen within with their Commanders. At the end of every Watch there are a multitude of *Trumpets* and *Drums* to make a noiſe; which is to keep his People waking, and for the honour of his Majeſty. There are alſo *Elephants*, which are appointed all night to ſtand and watch, leſt there ſhould be any Tumult; which if there ſhould, could preſently trample down a multitude. Strong Guards about his Court.

He hath alſo a Guard of *Coffèries* or *Negro's*, in whom he impoſeth more confidence, then in his own People. Theſe are to watch at his Chamber door, and next his Perſon. Next his own Perſon *Negro's* watch.

At uncertain times he will ſend out a *Spy* by Night, to ſee what Watch is kept. Who once finding one of the Great Men aſleep, took his Cap, his Sword and other Arms, and brought them to the King; who afterwards reſtored them to the Owner again, reproving him, and bidding him take more heed for the future. Theſe *Spyes* alſo are to hear and ſee what paſſes: neither is there any thing ſaid or done but he has notice of it. Formerly he uſed in the Nights to diſguiſe himſelf and walk abroad in the Streets to ſee all paſſages, but now he will not adventure ſo to do. Spies ſent out a Nights.

Moſt of his Attendants are *Boyes*, and *Young Men*, that are well favoured, and of good Parentage. For the ſupplying himſelf with theſe, he gives order to his *Diſſava's* or *Governors* of the Countreys to pick and chooſe out Boyes, that are comely and of good Deſcent, and ſend them to the Court. Theſe Boyes go bare-headed with long hair hanging down their backs. Not that he is guilty of *Sodomy*, nor did I ever hear the Sin ſo much as mentioned among them. His attendants.

He hath many *Women* belonging to his *Kitchin*, chooſing to have his Meat dreſſed by them. Several times he hath ſent into the Countreys a Command to gather handſome young Women of the *Chingulayes* to recruit his Kitchin, with no exceptions whether married or unmarried: and thoſe that are choſen for that Service never return back again. Once ſince my being on the Land, all the *Portuguez Women* that were young and white were ſent for to the Court, no matter whether Maids or Wives; where ſome remained until now, and ſome that were not amiable in his ſight were ſent home; and ſome having purchaſed his diſpleaſure were caſt into a River, which is his manner of executing Women. And ſome ſent Priſoners in the Countrey, being none admitted to ſpeech or ſight of them. Handſom women belong to his Kitchin

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Part. II.

His Women, and the Priviledg of the Towns where they live.

Concubines he keepeth not many. Some are within his Palace. And those whose Office is about his Kitchin are reported to be so; which is not improbable, seeing he admits none but them that are young and very handsom to the imployment. Other of his women dwell in Towns near to the City. Into which no Stranger is permitted to go, nay it is dangerous to approach near. These Towns have this Priviledg, that if any Slave flee from his Masters service, but still remains a Slave there to them.

His State when he walks in his Palace; or goes abroad.

Sometimes he walketh about his Palace, where there are certain *Pedestalis* of Stone, whitened with Lime and laid in Oyl, so that they look purely white, made and set up in divers places, here he stands when he comes forth, that he might be above the rest of the People, and see about him. But when he is minded to go abroad, though it be never so little a way, and he seldom or never goes far, Order is given some time before, for all Soldiers of his Guards which are a great many, it may be Thousands, together with a *Dutch* and *Portugal* Captain with their Flags and Soldiers, *Drummers*, *Trumpeters*, *Pipers*, *Singers*, and all belonging, as *Elephants*, *Horses*, *Falkeners* with their *Faulkons*, and many others, to stand at the Gate in a readiness to attend his pleasure. And tho he means not to come forth, yet they must wait in this manner, until he give order, that they may depart to their houses. Commonly all this assembly are gathered together at the Palace three or four times before he comes out once. And oftentimes he comes out when none there are aware of it, with only those that attend on his person within his Palace. And then when it is heard, that his Majesty is come forth, they all run ready to break their necks, and place themselves at a distance to Guard his Person and wait his pleasure. Sometimes, but very seldom, He comes forth riding upon an *Horse* or *Elephant*. But usually he is brought out in a *Pallenkine*; which is nothing so well made as in other parts of *India*. The ends of the *Bambou* it is carried by, are largely tipped with Silver, and curiously wrought and engraven: for he hath very good workmen of that profession.

The place where he goeth when he comes thus abroad, is to a Bankqueting-house built by a Pond side, which he has made. It is not above a Musquet shot from his Palace. Where he goeth for his diversion. Which I shall by and by more particularly relate.

His reception of *Embassadors*.

Another instance of his State and Grandure will appear in his reception of *Ambassadors*. Who are received with great honour and Show. First he sends several of his great men to meet them with great Trains of Soldiers, the ways all cut broad, and the grass pared away for many miles: *Drums* and *Trumpets*, and *Pipes*, and *Flags* going before them, Victuals and all sorts of varieties are daily brought to them, and continue to be so all the time they are in the Land, and all at free-cost. For the Custom here is, Embassadors, stay they never so long, are maintained at the Kings Cost and Charges. And being in the City, have their Victuals brought them out from the Kings Palace, ready dressed.

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dreſſed. Preſents, Goods or whatſoever they pleaſe to bring with them, the King prepareth men to carry. And when they are come to the Houſe that is prepared for them, which is hung top and ſides with white Callico, they are kept under a Guard, and great Commanders with Soldiers appointed to watch at their Gates, which is accounted for a great honour. But theſe Guards dare not permit any to come to the Speech of them, for the King careth not that any ſhould talk with *Ambaſſadors*, but himſelf, with whom he taketh great delight to have conference, and to ſee them brought before him in fine Apparrel, their Swords by their ſides with great State and Honour, and that the *Ambaſſadors* may ſee and take notice of the greatneſs of his *Majeſty*. And after they have been there ſome times, he gives them both Men and handſom young Maids for their Servants, to attend and alſo to accompany them: often cauſing them to be brought into his preſence to ſee his Sports and Paſtimes, and not caring to ſend them away; but in a very familiar manner entertaining diſcourſe with them.

His delight in them.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the King's Manners, Vices, Recreation, Religion.

UNder the Conſideration of his *Manners*, will fall his Temperance, his Ambition and Pride, his Policy and Diſſimulation, his cruel and bloody Diſpoſition.

He is temperate both in his *Diet* and his *Luſt*. Of the former, I am informed by thoſe that have attended on his Perſon in his Palace, that though he hath all ſorts of Varieties the Land affords brought to his Table, yet his chief fare is *Herbs*, and ripe pleaſant *Fruits*: and this but once a day. Whatſoever is brought for him to eat or drink is covered with a white cloath, and whoever brings it, hath a Mufler tyed about his mouth, leſt he ſhould breath upon the Kings Food. The Kings manner of eating is thus. He ſits upon a Stool before a ſmall Table covered with a white cloath, all alone. He eats on a green Plantane-Leaf laid in a Gold Baſon. There are twenty or thirty Diſhes prepared for him, which are brought into his Dining-Room. And which of theſe Diſhes the King pleaſes to call for, a Nobleman appointed for that ſervice, takes a Portion of and reaches in a Ladle to the Kings Baſon. This perſon alſo waits with a mufler about his mouth,

Sparing in his Dyet.

After what manner he Eats.

And as he is abſtemious in his eating, ſo in the uſe of women. If he uſeth them 'tis unknown and with great ſecrecy. He hath not had the Company of his Queen this twenty years, to wit, ſince he went from *Candy*, where he left her. He allowes not in his Court Whoredom or Adultery; and many times when he hears of the misdemeanors of ſome of his Nobles in regard of women, He not only Executes them, but ſeverely puniſheth the women

Chaſt himſelf, and requires his Attendants no leſs ſo.

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Chap. II.

women, if known: and he hath so many *Spyes*, that there is but little done, which he knows not of. And often he gives Command to expel all the women out of the City, not one to remain. But by little and little when they think his wrath is appeas'd, they do creep in again. But no women of any Quality dare presume, and if they would, they cannot, the Watches having charge given them not to let them pass. Some have been taken concealed under mans Apparel, and what became of them all may judg, for they never went home again. Rebellion does not more displease this King, then for his Nobles to have to do with women. Therefore when any are admitted to his Court to wait upon him, they are not permitted to enjoy the Company of their Wives, no more then any other women. Neither hath he suffered any for near this twenty years to have their Wives in the City, except Slaves or inferior servants.

He committed *Incest*, but such as was allowable.

Indeed he was once guilty of an *Act*, that seemed to argue him a man of most unbridled Lust. For he had a Daughter that was with Child by himself: but in Childbed both dyed. But this manner of *Incest* is allowable in Kings, if it be only to beget a *right Royal Issue*, which can only be gotten that way. But in all other 'tis held abominable, and severely punished. And here they have a common and usual *Proverb*, *None can reproach the King nor the Beggar.* The one being so high, that none dare; the other so low, that nothing can shame or reproach them.

His Pride.

His *Pride* and *affectation of honour* is unmeasurable. Which appears in his Peoples manner of Address to him, which he either Commands or allows of. When they come before him they fall flat down on their Faces to the Ground at three several times, and then they sit with their legs under them upon their Knees all the time they are in his presence: And when he bids them to absent, they go backwards, untill they are out of his sight, or a great distance from him. But of *Christian* People indeed he requires no more then to kneel with their Hats off before him.

How the people Address to the King.

They give him divine worship.

Nay, He takes on him all the Ceremonies and Solemnities of Honour, which they shew unto their Gods; making his account that as he is now their King, so hereafter he shall be one of their Gods. And the People did call him *God*. Formerly since my being on that Land, he used not to come out of his Palace into the sight of the People but very seldom out of State and Haughtiness of Spirit; but now of later times he comes forth daily. And altho he be near fourscore years of age, yet his greatest delight is in Honour and Majesty, being most pleased with high and windy Titles given him. Such as *Mauhawaul*, a Phrase importing *Greatness*, but not expressible in our Language. *Hondrewné Boudouind*, *Let your Majesty be a God.* When the King speaks to them, they answer him at every period, *Oiboa, many Lives. Baula Gaut, the limb of a Dog*, speaking to the King of themselves: yet now of late times since here happened a Rebellion against him, he fears to assume to himself the Title of *God*; having visibly seen and almost felt, that there is a greater power then *His* ruling on Earth, which set the hearts of the People against *Him:* and so hath given command to prophane that *great Name* no more, by ascribing it to him.

Pleased with high Titles.

In

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One Impaled on a Stake.

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Part II.

In *Anno* 1675, one of the Kings greateſt and moſt Valiant Generals, and that had been notably ſucceſsful againſt the *Dutch*, had done many pieces of good ſervice for the King, expelled the *Hollanders* out of ſeveral *Forts*, taking and killing many of them, this man the King was jealous of, and did reſolve to take away his Head as a reward of his Valour; which he had ſome private Intelligence of, and ſo Fled, being then in Camp againſt the *Dutch*, and got to *Columba* with his wife and goods. By which the King had an invaluable Loſs. Yet the King out of the height of his Stomach, ſeemed not in the leaſt to be vexed thereat, neither did he regard it; as if it were beneath the quality of ſuch a *Monarch* to be moved with ſuch a Trifle. But ſent down another *General* in his place; And as for the houſe and eſtate of him that Fled, and whatſoever he left behind him, he let it lye and rot, ſcorning to eſteem or regard it.

An inſtance or two of the King's haughty ſtomach.

He ſlights the defection of one of his beſt Generals.

To give you an Inſtance or two more of this Princes Spirit. At the time of *New-year*, all his Subjects, high and low, do bring him certain *Preſents*, or rather Taxes, each one a certain rate; which formerly he uſed conſtantly to take, but of late years, He ſo abounds with all things, continually putting into his Treaſury, and but ſeldom taking out, and that but little, that he thinks ſcorn to receive theſe his due revenues, leaſt his people ſhould think it were out of neceſſity and want. Nevertheleſs the Great Men ſtill at the *New-year*, bring their *Preſents* day after day before the King at his coming forth, hoping it will pleaſe him to accept them, but now of many years he receives them not. His mind is ſo haughty, that he ſcorns to ſeem to value any thing in the world. When tydings are ſometimes brought him, that the *Dutch* have made an *Invaſion* into his Countrey, although he be well able to expel them; he will not ſo much as regard it.

He ſcorns to receive his Revenues.

The *Dutch* knowing his Proud Spirit make their advantage of it, by Flattering him with their *Ambaſſadors*, telling him *that they are his Majeſties humble Subjects and Servants; and that it is out of their Loyalty to him, that they build Forts, and keep Watches round about his Countrey, to prevent Forraign Nations and Enemies from coming.* And that *as they are thus imployed in his Majeſties ſervice, ſo it is for ſuſtenance, which they want, that occaſioned their coming up into his Majeſti es Countrey.* And thus by Flattering him, and aſcribing to him High and Honourable Titles, which are things he greatly delights in, ſome times they prevail to have the Countrey (they have invaded,) and he to have the Honour. Yet at other times, upon better Conſideration, he will not be Flattered, but falls upon them at unawares, and does them great damage.

The Dutch ſerve their ends upon his Pride by flattering him.

Such a Veneration does he expect from the People, that whatſoever things are carrying to him which are known by the white Cloath they are wrapt up in, all perſons meeting them turn out of the way: not excepting the Kings foul Cloaths. For when they are carried to waſhing (which is daily) all even the greateſt riſe up, as they come by, which is known by being carried on an hand heaved upwards, covered with a Painted cloth.

The people give way to the King's foul cloths.

He is crafty, cautious, a great diſſembler, nor doth he want wiſdom. He is not paſſionate in his anger. For with whomſoever he be angry, he will not ſhew it: neither is he raſh or over-haſty in any matters, but

His natural abilities, and deceitful temper.

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Part II.

but doth all things with deliberation, tho but with a little adviſe: asking Counſel of no body but himſelf. He accounts it Wit and Policy to lie and diſſemble, that his intents and purpoſes may the better be concealed; but he abhorreth and puniſheth thoſe that lie to him.

His wiſe ſaying concerning Runnawayes.

Dutch Runnawayes, whereof there are ſeveral come to him, he ſaith *are Rogues that either have robbed or killed, or elſe would never run away from their own Nation.* And tho he receiveth them, yet eſteemeth them not.

Naturally cruel.

He ſeems to be naturally diſpoſed to *Cruelty*: For he ſheds a great deal of blood, and gives no reaſon for it. His Cruelty appears both in the Tortures and Painful deaths he inflicts, and in the extent of his puniſhments, *viz*, upon whole Families for the miſcarriage of one in them. For when the King is diſpleaſed with any, he does not alwayes command to kill them outright, but firſt to torment them, which is done by cutting and pulling away their fleſh by Pincers, burning them with hot Irons clapped to them to make them confeſs of their Confederates; and this they do, to rid themſelves of their Torments, confeſſing far more than ever they ſaw or knew. After their Confeſſion, ſometimes he commands to hang their two Hands about their Necks, and to make them eat their own fleſh, and their own Mothers to eat of their own Children; and ſo to lead them thro the City in public view to terrifie all, unto the place of Execution, the Dogs following to eat them. For they are ſo accuſtomed to it, that they ſeeing a Priſoner led away, follow after. At the place of Execution, there are alwayes ſome ſticking upon Poles, others hanging up in quarters upon Trees; beſides, what lyes killed by Elephants on the ground, or by other ways. This place is alwayes in the greateſt High-way, that all may ſee and ſtand in awe. For which end this is his conſtant practice.

The Dogs follow Priſoners to execution.

Moreover, he hath a great many Priſoners, whom he keepeth in Chains, ſome in the common Gaol, ſome committed to the cuſtody of Great Men; and for what or for how long time none dare enquire. Commonly they ly thus two, four or ſix years; and ſome have Victuals given them, and ſome not having it, muſt ask leave to go out and beg with a Keeper. It is according as the King appoints, when they are committed. Or ſome of them being driven to want do get food by work, ſuch as, ſewing, making Caps, Doublets, Purſes. This coming once to the Kings Ears, he ſaid, *I put them there to torment and puniſh them, not to work and be well maintained*; and ſo commanded to take away their Sizzars and Needles from them. Yet this laſted not long, for afterwards they fell to their work again. Thoſe that have been long there are permitted to build little Shops on the Street ſide againſt the Priſon, and to come out in the day time, and ſell their work as they make it; but in the Night time are ſhut up again.

The Kings Priſoners, their Miſery.

When the Streets are to be ſwept about the Palace, they make the Priſoners come out in their Chains, and do it.

And after all their Impriſonment, without any examination, they are carried forth and executed: and theſe not only the common ſort, but even the greateſt and moſt nobly deſcended in the Land: For with whom he is diſpleaſed, he maketh no difference.

He puniſhes whole generations for the ſake of one.

Nor is his wrath appeaſed by the Execution of the *Malefactor*, but oftentimes he puniſheth all his Generation; it may be kills them altogether, or gives them all away for *Slaves*.

Thus

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Thus he often deals with those, whose Children are his Attendants. I mentioned before, that young Men of the best Families in the Land, are sought out to wait upon the King in his Court. These after they have served here some small time, and have as it were but seen the Court, and known his Customs and Manners, he requiteth them by cutting off their Heads, and putting them into their Bellies: other faults none do know. Heretofore, as it is reported, he was not so Cruel, but now none escapes, that serves in his Palace. Then he recruits his Slain out of the Countries, by giving Orders to his *Dissava's* or *Governors* to send him others to Court. Whither they go like an Ox to the Slaughter, but with far more heavy hearts. For both they and their Parents full well know what end the King's honorable Service will bring them to. Howbeit there is no remedy. Being thus by Order sent unto the Court, their own Parents must provide for and maintain them, until the King is pleased to call them to his Use, which it may be will not be in some years. Sometimes it happens, that the Boys thus brought, before the King makes use of them about his Person, are grown too big, and so escape. But those that are employed in the Palace, enjoy this favour, That all such Taxes, Customs, or other Duties belonging to the King, which their Fathers were wont to pay, are released, until such time as they are discharged from the King's Employment; which is always either by Execution, or by being given to somebody for perpetual Bondmen. During the time of the King's favour, he is never admitted to go home to Visit his Parents and Friends. The Malekind may come to see him, but no Women are admitted, be it his Mother that bare him. And after he is killed, tho' for what no man knows, he is accounted a *Rebel* and *Traitor* against the King: and then his Father's House, Land and Estate is seized on for the King. Which after some time by giving of Fees and Gifts to the great ones, they do redeem again: And sometimes the whole Family and Generation perish, as I said before. So that after a *Lad* is taken into the King's Palace, his Kindred are afraid to acknowledge Alliance to him. But these matters may more properly be related, when we come to speak of his Tyranny.

Chap. 2.

The sad condition of young Gentlemen that wait on his Person.

Sometimes for his *Pleasure*, he will ride or be carried to his *Banquetting-House*, which is about a Musquet-shot from his Palace. It stands on a little Hill; where with abundance of pains and many Months labour, they have made a little Plain, in length not much above an Arrows flight, in breadth less. Where at the head of a small Valley, he hath made a Bank cross to stop the Water running down. It is now become a fine Pond, and exceeding full of Fish. At this Place the King hath several Houses built according to his own appointment very handsom, born up with carved Pillars and Painted, and round about Rails and Banisters turned, one Painted and one Ebony, like Balconie. Some standing high upon a Wall, being for him to sit in, and see Sport with his Elephants, and other Beasts, as also for a Prospect abroad. Others standing over this Pond, where he himself sits and feedeth his Fish with boiled Rice, Fruits and Sweet-meats. They are so tame that they will come and eat in his hand; but never doth he suffer any to be catch'd. This Pond is useful for his Elephants to wash in. The Plain was made for his Horses to run upon. For oftentimes he commands his Grooms to get up and ride in his Presence; and

His Pleasure Houses.

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Part II. sometimes for that good Service, gives the Rider five or ten *Shillings*, and it may be a piece of Cloath. Always when he comes forth, his Horses are brought out ready saddled before him; but he himself mounts them very seldom. All of which he had from the *Dutch*, some sent to him for *Presents*, and some he hath taken in War. He hath in all some twelve or fourteen: some of which are *Persian* Horses.

His Pastimes abroad. Other *Pastimes* and *Recreations* he hath (for this is all he minds or regards.) As to make them bring wild Elephants out of the Woods, and catch them in his Presence. The manner how they get them unto the City, I have mentioned already. Also when he comes out of his Court, he Delights to look upon his *Hawks*, altho' he never use them for his Game; sometimes on his Dogs, and tame Deer, and Tygers, and strange kind of Birds and Beasts; of both which he hath a great many. Also he will try his Guns, and shoot at Marks, which are excellently true, and rarely inlay'd with Silver, Gold, and Ivory. For the *Smiths* that make them dare not present them to his hand, not having sufficiently proved them. He hath Eight or Nine small Iron *Cannon*, lately taken from the *Dutch*, which he hath mounted in Field-Carriages, all rarely carved, and inlay'd with Silver and Brass, and coloured Stones, set in convenient places, and painted with Images and Flowers. But the Guns disgrace the Carriages. He keeps them in an House on the Plain. Upon some Festival times he useth them. I think, they are set there chiefly for a Memorial of his late Victories: For he hath many, and far better Guns of *Brass* that are not so regarded.

His Diversion at home. In his Palace he passeth his time with looking upon certain Toyes and Fancies that he hath, and upon his Arms and Guns, calling in some or other of his great Men to see the same, asking them if they have a Gun will shoot further than that: and how much Steel such a Knife, as he will shew them, needs to have in it. He takes great delight in Swimming, in which he is very expert. And the Custom is, when he goes into the Water, that all his Attendance that can Swim must go in likewise.

His Religion. And now lastly for his *Religion*, you cannot expect much from him. Of the Religion of his Countrey he makes but a small Profession; as perceiving that there is a *greater God*, than those that they thro long custom, have and do Worship. And therefore when an *Impostor*, a Bastard *Moor* by Nation born in that Land; came and publickly set up a new *nameless God*, as he styled him; and that he was sent to destroy the Temples of their Gods, the King opposed it not for a good while, as waiting to see which of these Gods would prevail, until he saw that he aimed to make himself King, then he allowed of him no longer: as I shall shew more at large hereafter: when I come to speak of the Religion of the Countrey.

How he stands affected to the Christian Religion. The *Christian Religion*, he doth not in the least persecute, or dislike, but rather as it seems to me, esteems and honours it. As a sign of which take this passage. When his Sister died, for whom he had a very dear Affection, there was a very grievous Mourning and Lamentation made for her throughout the whole Nation: all Mirth and Feasting laid aside, and all possible signs of sorrow expresst: and in all probability, it was as much as their lives were worth, who should at this

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this time do any thing, that might look like joy. This was about *Chriſtmas*. The *Dutch* did notwithſtanding adventure to keep their *Chriſtmas* by Feaſting. The News of this was brought to the King. And every body reckoned it would go hard with the *Dutch* for doing this. But becauſe it was done at a *Feſtival* of their Religion, the King paſt it by, and took no notice of it. The Value alſo that he has for the *Chriſtian* Religion, will appear from the reſpect he gives the Profeſſors of it; as will be ſeen afterwards. Chap. 3.

CHAP. III.

Of the King's Tyrannical Reign.

WEE have all this while conſidered this King, with reſpect unto his *Perſon*, *Temper*, and *Inclinations*, now we will ſpeak of him with more immediate reſpect unto his *Office*, and *Government*, as he is a *King*. And here we will diſcourſe of the *manner of his Government*, of his *Treaſure and Revenues*, of his *Great Officers*, and laſtly, of his *Strength and Wars*.

As to the *manner of his Government*, it is *Tyrannical* and *Arbitrary* in the higheſt degree: For he ruleth Abſolute, and after his own Will and Pleaſure: his own Head being his only *Counſellor*. The Land all at his Diſpoſal, and all the People from the higheſt to the loweſt *Slaves*, or very like Slaves: both in Body and Goods wholly at his Command. Neither wants He thoſe three *Virtues* of a Tyrant, *Jealouſie*, *Diſſimulation*, and *Cruelty*. His Government Tyrannical.

But becauſe *Policy* is a neceſſary endowment of a Prince, I will firſt ſhew in an inſtance or two, that he is not devoid of it. His Policy.

The Countrey being wholly His, the King Farms out his Land, not for Money, but Service. And the People enjoy Portions of Land from the King, and inſtead of Rent, they have their ſeveral appointments, ſome are to ſerve the King in his *Wars*, ſome in their *Trades*, ſome ſerve him for *Labourers*, and others are as *Farmers* to furniſh his Houſe with the Fruits of the Ground; and ſo all things are done without Coſt, and every man paid for his pains: that is, they have Lands for it; yet all have not watered Land enough for their needs, that is, ſuch Land as good Rice requires to grow in; ſo that ſuch are fain to ſow on dry Land, and Till other mens Fields for a ſubſiſtence. Theſe Perſons are free from payment of Taxes; only ſometimes upon extraordinary occaſions, they muſt give an *Hen* or *Mat* or ſuch like, to the King's uſe: for as much as they uſe the Wood and Water that is in his Countrey. But if any find the Duty to be heavy, or too much for them, they may leaving their Houſe and Land, be free from the King's Service, as there is a Multitude do. And in my judgment they live far more at eaſe, after they have relinquiſhed the King's Land, than when they had it. He Farms out his Countrey for Service.

Many Towns are in the King's hand, the Inhabitants whereof are to Till and Manure a quantity of the Land according to their Ability, and lay up the Corn for the King's uſe. Theſe Towns the King often beſtows upon ſome of his Nobles for their Encouragement and Maintenance, with all the fruits and benefits that before came to the King

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Part II. from them. In each of these Towns there is a *Smith* to make and mend the Tools of them to whom the King hath granted them, and a *Potter* to fit them with Earthen Ware, and a *Washer* to wash their Cloaths, and other men to supply what there is need of. And each one of these hath a piece of Land for this their Service, whether it be to the King or the Lord; but what they do for the other People they are paid for. Thus all that have any Place or Employment under the King, are paid without any Charge to the King.

His Policy to secure himself from Assassination or Rebellion.

His great Endeavour is to Secure himself from Plots and Conspiracies of his People, who are sorely weary of his tyrannical Government over them, and do often Plot to make away with him; but by his subtilty and good fortune together, he prevents them. And for this purpose he is very Vigilant in the Night: the noise of Trumpets and Drums, which he appoints at every Watch, hinders both himself and all others from sleeping. In the Night also he commonly does most of his Business. calling *Embassadors* before him, and reading the *Letters*; also displacing some of his *Courtiers*, and promoting others, and giving Sentence to execute those whom he would have to live no longer; and many times Commands to lay hold on and carry away great and Noble men, who until that instant knew not that they were out of his favour.

Another point of his Policy.

His Policy is to make his Countrey as intricate and difficult to Travel as may be, and therefore forbids the Woods to be felled, especially those that divide Province from Province, and permits no Bridges to be made over his Rivers: nor the Paths to be made wider.

Another, which is to find his People work to do.

He often employs his People in vast works, and that will require years to finish, that he may inure them to Slavery, and prevent them from Plotting against him, as haply they might do if they were at better leisure. Therefore he approves not that his People should be idle; but always finds one thing or other to be done, tho the work be to little or no purpose. According to the quantity of the work, so he will appoint the People of one *County* or of two to come in: and the Governor of the said *County* or *Counties* to be *Overseer* of the Work. At such times the Soldiers must lay by their Swords, and work among the People. These works are either digging down Hills, and carrying the Earth to fill up Valleys; thus to enlarge his Court, which standeth between two Hills, (a more uneven and unhandsom spot of ground, he could not well have found in all his Kingdom); or else making ways for the Water to run into the Pond, and elsewhere for his use in his Palace. Where he hath it running thro in many places unto little Ponds made with *Lime* and *Stone*, and full of Fish.

A vast work undertaken and finished by the King.

To bring this Water to his Palace, was no small deal of labour. For not having a more convenient way, they were forced to split a great Mountain in twain to bring the Water thro, and after that to make a Bank cross a Valley far above a Cables length, and in height above four Fathom, with thickness proportionable to maintain it, for the Water to run over the top. Which at first being only Earth, the Water would often break down; but now both bottom and sides are paved and wrought up with Stone. After all this, yet it was at least four or five Miles to bring this Water in a Ditch; and the ground all Hills and Valleys, so that they were forced to turn and wind,

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wind, as the Water would run. Also when they met with Rocks which they could not move, as this Ground is full of them, they made great Fires with Wood upon it, until it was soundly hot; and hereby it became so soft, that they could easily break it with Mawls. Chap. 3.

This Water was that which nourished that Countrey, from whence it was taken. The People of which ever since have scarce been able to Till their Land. Which extremity did compel the People of those Parts to use a means to acquaint the King how the Countrey was destroyed thereby, and disabled from performing those Duties and Services, which they owed unto the King; and that there was Water sufficient both for His Majestie's Service, and also to relieve their Necessities. Which the King took very ill from them, as if they would seem to grudge him a little Water. And sure I am, woe be to him, that should mention that matter again. The turning this water did great injury to the People.

So far is he from regarding the good of his Countrey, that he rather endeavours the Destruction thereof. For issue he hath none alive, and e're long, being of a great Age Nature tells him, he must leave it. Howbeit no love lost between the King and his People. Yet he daily contriveth and buildeth in his Palace like *Nebuchadnezzar*, wet and dry, day and night, not showing the least sign of Favour to his People. Who oftentimes by such needless Imployments, are Letted from the seasonable times of Ploughing and Harvest, to their great prejudice, and sometimes utter undoing. But he little regards his Peoples good.

After the *Rebellion*, when the People that lived at a further distance, saw that the King intended to settle himself near the Mountain to which he fled, Viz. *Digligy*, and not to come into the old City again, it being very troublesom and tedious to bring their Rents and Taxes thither, they all jointly met together, being a great number, and sent an *Address* to intimate their Desires to him; which was with great Submission, *That His Majesty would not leave them destitute of his Presence, which was to them as the Sun, that he would not absent himself from them to dwell in a Mountain in a desolate Countrey; but seeing there was no further danger, and all the Rebels destroyed, that he would return to his old Palace again, vowing all Fidelity to him.* The King did not like this Message, and was somewhat afraid there being such a tumultuous Company met together, and so thought not fit to drive them away, or publickly to declare his displeasure at them; but went to work like a *Polititian*. Which was to tell them *that he thanked them for their love and affection towards him; and that he was desirous to dwell among them in such a part of their Countrey as he named: and so bad them all go to work to build him a Palace there.* The People departed with some Satisfaction, and fell to work might and main: and continued at it for near two years together, felling Timber, and fetching it out of the Woods, laying Foundations, hewing Stone, till they were almost killed with labour. And being wrought quite tyred, they began to accuse and grumble at one another for having been the occasion of all this toil. After they had laboured thus a long while, and were all discouraged, and the People quiet, the King sent word to them to leave off. And now it lies unfinished, all the Timber brought in, rots upon the place, and the building runs to ruin. The King by craft at once both pleased and punished his People.

And this is the manner how he employs his People; pulling down and building up again, equalling unequal grounds, making sinks under In what labours he employs his People.

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Part II. der ground for the passage of water thro' his Palace, dragging of great Trees out of the Wood to make Pounds to catch Elephants in his Presence; altho' they could catch them with far less labour, and making houses to keep them in, after they are taken.

He Poysons his only Son.

He stands not upon any *Villainy* to establish himself, or strike terror into his People. This made him cut off his only Son, a young man of about Fifteen years. After the Rebellion the Kingdom being setled in the King's hands again, and knowing that the hearts of the People disaffecting him, stood strongly bent towards the Prince, and fearing his own safety as the Prince grew to riper years, to prevent all, he poisoned him. For about a year after the Rebellion, his Son was Sick, the King takes this Opportunity to dispatch him by pretending to send *Physic* to him to Cure him. The People hearing of the Death of the Prince, according to the Custom of the Land when any of the Royal Blood is deceased, came all in general towards the City where he was, with black or else very dirty Cloaths, which is their Mourning, the Men all bare-headed, the Women with their hair loose and hanging about their Shoulders, to mourn and lament for the Death of their young Prince. Which the King hearing of, sent this word unto them, That since it was not his fortune to live, to sit on his Throne after him and Reign over the Land, it would be but in vain to mourn; and a great trouble and lett unto the Countrey: and their voluntary good will was taken in as good part as the mourning it self, and so dismist the Assembly; and burned the Princes dead Body without Ceremonies or Solemnities.

The extraordinary lamentation at the death of his Sister.

Yet the Death of an old Sister which he had, caused no small Lamentation. It was she that carried the Prince away in the Rebellion. Which I shall relate by and by. Countrey after Countrey came up to mourn, giving all signs of extraordinary sadness, both in Habit and Countenance; the King himself was seen to weep bitterly. The *White men* also came, which the King took well. Insomuch that the *Hollanders* supposing the King himself to be dead, came up to take Possession of the Countrey; but hearing the contrary and understanding their mistake returned back again. The King and all his Countrey for more than a years time went in mourning. And her Body was burnt with all the Honour and State that could be. Yet notwithstanding all the love and respect he bare unto her, he did not once Visit her in all the time of her Sickness. And it is now for certain reported that there is not one of his Generation left.

His craft and cruelty shewn at once.

Once to try the hearts of his *Attendants*, and to see what they would do; being in the Water a swimming, he feigned himself to be in extremity, and near Drowning, and cryed out for help; upon which two young Men more venturous and forward than the rest, immediately made way and came to his help: who taking hold of his Body brought him safe to Land. At which he seemed to be very glad. Putting on his Cloaths he went to his Palace: then he demanded to know who and which they were that had holpen him out of the Water. They, supposing by his Speech it was to give them a reward for the good Service they had so lately done him, answered, *We were they.* Whereupon he Commands to call such a great Man. (For it is they whom he appoints always to see Execution done by their Soldiers.)

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diers.) To whom he gave Command, saying, *Take both these, and lead them to such a place, and cut off their Heads, who dared to presume to lay their hands on my Person, and did not prostrate themselves rather that I might lay my hand on them for my relief and safety.* And accordingly they were Executed. Chap. 4.

CHAP. IV.

Of his Revenues and Treasure.

The King's Rents brought three times in the year.

THree times in the year they usually carry their *Rents* unto the King. The one is at the *New-year* called *Ourida cotamaul.* The other is for *the First fruits*, *Alleusal cotamaul.* And the last is at *a certain Sacrifice* in the Month of *November* to their *God*, called *Ilmoy cotamaul.* But besides these, whatsoever is wanting in the King's House at any other time, and they have it, they must upon the King's Order bring it. These Rents are but little Money, but chiefly Corn, Rice, or what grows out of the Ground.

The first is accompanied with a great Festival.

To speak a little of the *first time*, *Viz.* at the beginning of the New year, when the King's Duties are brought him. Their *New year* is always either the 27th, or the 28th, or the 29th of *March*: At this time upon a *special* and *good day* (for which the *Astrologers* are consulted) the King washes his head, which is a very great Solemnity among them. The Palace is all adorned with *Tor-nes*, a sort of *Triumphal Arches*, that make a very fine shew. They are high Poles standing in rows before all the Gates of the Palace, either nine or seven in a row, the middlemost being the highest, and so they fall lower and lower on each side. Thro the middle of them there is an arched passage which serves for a Door. On the top of the Poles are Flags flying, and all about hung full of painted Cloth with Images, and Figures of Men, and Beasts, and Birds, and Flowers: Fruits also are hanged up in great order and exactness. On each side of the entrance of the Arch stand Plantane Trees, with bunches of Plantanes on them as if they were growing.

There are also in some places single Poles of an exceeding height standing by, with long Penons of divers colours flying, and a Bell at the end of each, as in the Figure B. And now they say, *The Palace is adorned beyond Heaven.*

All the Army is summoned in to stand and wait at the Palace, for the greater State. In the mean time he goes to his Washing-houses, houses built on purpose for him to wash in, called *Oulpungi*, here are Baths, and Streams and Conveyances of Water, and many Servants, whose Office it is to wait upon the business of these houses. Here he washes his head. Which when he has done, he comes forth into Public view, where all his *Militia* stand in their Arms. Then the great Guns are fired. Now all the great Men, the Nobles and the Governors of the Countrey make their appearance before him with their *Dackini*, their New-years Gifts, which are due and accustomed Presents, for Persons in their Places and Offices to give. There is a certain Rate for it. Their manner of bringing these Gifts or rather Duties is thus,

How the Nobles bring their Gifts, or Duties.

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Part II.

thus, Their Servants bring them wrapt up in white Cloth to the Court, and then they take them at their hands, put them upon their heads, and so come in humble manner, and lay them at the King's feet. These Presents are Gold, Jewels, Plate, Arms, Knives, Cloth, each one by a rate according to the Place he is in, and the Countrey he hath under him: And most of them are to present a Sum of Money besides. And if they can procure any precious Stone, or Rarity, or any other thing, which they think the King will accept, that also they bring, and glad they are to be honoured with the favour of his acceptance. These New-years Gifts for these many years he thinks scorn to receive, and bids them carry them away again till another time. Thus they come with them time after time presenting them, which he as often refusing; at last they bring them no more.

Inferior Persons present their New-years Gifts.

All sorts of Tradesmen also, and such as by their Skill can any ways get Money, at the *New year* are to pay into the Treasury each one a certain rate. Which now adayes he accepts not, though formerly he always did.

What Taxes and Rents the People pay.

At this and the other times the things which the People carry as their Rents and Taxes, are Wine, Oyl, Corn, Honey, Wax, Cloth, Iron, Elephants Teeth, Tobacco, Money. They bring them themselves, and wait at Court with them commonly divers Months, before they be received. The great Officers tell the King, the People have brought their Rents. The King saith, *'Tis well.* But if he give no order withal to receive the things brought (as he seldom does) there is no remedy, but there they must wait with them. And this he doth out of State. The Rents and Duties brought at the two other times are after the same manner; the great Men do only bring theirs once at the New year.

The accidental Incomes of the Crown.

There are other Revenues the King hath, which are *accidental*; but bring in great wealth; That whensoever any man dies, that hath a stock of Cattel, immediately out thence must be paid a Bull and a Cow with a Calf, and a Male and Female *Buffalo*, which tax they call *Marral.* And there are Officers appointed, whose place it is, to come and carry them away. Also at Harvest yearly there is a certain rate of Corn to be paid by every man according to the Land they hold and enjoy. Heretofore the King granted, that upon Payment of a Sum of Money, they should be clear from this yearly Tax of Corn so long, till the present Possessor died, and the Land descended to his Son or some body else. And then the Estate became liable again to the forementioned Duties. But now of late there is no mention of any discharge by Money. So that in time all Houses and Families in the Kingdom will be liable to the Payment of this Tax of Corn; which will bring in no small quantity of Provision to the King. Only Soldiers that are slain in the Wars, their Lands are free from the Payment of this Tax; but if they die naturally they are not. The Farmers all in general, besides their measures of Corn, pay a certain Duty in Money, with their Rents.

The Profits that accrue to the King from Corn-Lands.

If they Sell or Alienate their Inheritances, the Kings accustomed Duties must not be diminished, whosoever buyeth or enjoyeth them. Neither is here any Land which doth not either pay, or do some Duty to the King. Only one case excepted, and that is, if they give or dedicate Land to a Priest, as an Alms or Deed of Charity in God's Name.

On

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On that there is never any more Tax or Duty to be impoſed, as being *ſacrilegious* to take ought from one that belongs to the Temple. Formerly the King had the Benefit of the trade of two Ports *Cotiar* and *Portalone*, unto each of which uſed to come yearly ſome twenty or thirty Sail of ſmall Veſſel, which brought conſiderable *Cuſtoms* in. But now the *Hollander* has deprived him of both, ſuffering no Veſſels to come. Chap. 5. Cuſtom of goods imported formerly paid.

The King hath ſeveral Treaſure-houſes, and in ſeveral places, in Cities and Towns, where always are Guards of Soldiers to watch them both day and night. I cannot certainly declare all that is contained in them. There are *Precious Stones* ſuch as his Land affords, *many*, but not very much, *Cloth*, and what he hath got by Shipwrack, *Preſents*, that have been ſent him from other Nations, *Elephants-teeth*, *Wax*, good ſtore of Arms, as Guns, Bowes and Arrows, Pikes, Halberds, Swords, *Ammunition*, ſtore of *Knives*, *Iron*, *Tallipat-Leaves*, whereof one will cover a large Tent, *Bedſteads*, *Tables*, *Boxes*, *Mats* of all ſorts. I will not adventure to declare further the Contents of his Treaſuries, leſt I may be guilty of a miſtake. But ſure I am he hath plenty of all ſuch things, as his Land affords. For he is very Provident, and Careful to be well furniſhed with all things. And what he does abound with, he had rather it ſhould lye and rot, then be imbezelled and waſted, that is, diſtributed among his Servants, or Slaves; of which he hath great ſtore. His Treaſuries.

He hath ſome hundreds of *Elephants*, which he keepeth tame, and could have as many more as he pleaſeth; but altho not catched, yet they are all his, and at his Command when he pleaſeth. He has many *Elephants*.

It is frequently reported and I ſuppoſe is true, that both he and his Predeceſſors, by the diſtreſs they have been driven to by the *Portuguezes*, have caſt ſome ſtore of Riches into the great River, *Mavelagonga*, running by the City, in deep holes among Rocks, which is irrecoverable, and into a made Pond by the Palace in the City of *Candé*, or *Hingodegul-neur*. Wherein are kept to this day two *Alligators*, ſo that none dare go into the water for fear of being devoured by them. And often times they do deſtroy Cows, that go to drink there. But this Pond by cutting the Bank might eaſily be drained. Great Treaſure thrown into the River formerly.

To conclude, the Land that is under his juriſdiction, is all his, with the People, their Eſtates, and whatſoever it affords, or is therein. But that which he doth chiefly value and eſteem, are Toys and Novelties, as Hawks, Horſes, Dogs, ſtrange Birds, and Beaſts, and particularly a ſpotted Elephant, and good Arms, of which he hath no want. The Treaſure he moſt valueth.

CHAP. V.

Of the Kings great Officers, and the Governours of the Provinces.

THere are two, who are the greateſt and higheſt Officers in the Land. They are called *Adigars*, I may term them *Chief Judges*; under whom is the Government of the Cities, and the Countries Two greateſt Officers in the Land.

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Part. II. also in the Vacancy of other Governours. All People have liberty in default of Justice to appeal to these *Adigars*, or if their causes and differences be not decided by their Governours according to their minds.

To these there are many *Officers* and *Sergeants* belonging. All which, to be known, carry staves in their hands like to *Bandyes*, the crooked end uppermost, which none but they dare carry. The sight of which staves, upon what message soever they be sent, signifies as much as the *Adigars Hand and Seal*. If the *Adigar* be ignorant in what belongs to his place and office, these men do instruct him what and how to do. The like is in all other places which the King bestows: if they know not what belongs to their places, there are Inferiour Officers under them, that do teach and direct them how to Act.

The next great Officers.

Next under the *Adigars*, are the *Dissauva's*, who are Governours over Provinces and Counties of the Land. Each Province and County has its Governour; but all Governours are not *Dissauva's*, nor other great Officers known by other names or Titles, as *Rotefauts* and *Vidanies*. But all these *Generals* or *Chief Commanders*, who have a certain number of Soldiers under them. These great men are to provide, that good orders be kept in the Countries over which they are placed, and that the Kings accustomed dutie be brought in due season to the Court. They have Power also to decide controversies between the People of their Jurisdiction, and to punish contentious and disorderly persons, which they do chiefly by amercing a *Fine* from them, which is for their Profit, for it is there own: and also by committing them Prison. Into which when they are once fallen, no means without mony can get them out again. But be the fact never so hainous (Murther it self) they can put none to death. The sentence of death being pronounced only by the King. They also are sent upon expeditions in War with their Soldiers, and give Attendance, and watch at Court in their appointed Stations.

None can put to death but the King.

These *Dissauva's* are also to see that the Soldiers in their Countries do come in due season and order for that purpose.

These *Dissauva's* are *durante bene placito.*

They are appointed by the King himself, not for life, but during his good pleasure. And when they are dead or removed, oftentimes their places lay void, somtimes for months, somtimes perhaps for years; during which time the *Adigar* rules and governs those Countries; and for his labour receiveth all such Incoms and Profits as are accustomed and of right do belong to the Governour.

Whom the King makes *Dissauva's*. And their Profits and Honours.

The King when he advances any to be *Dissauva's*, or to any other great Office regards not their ability or sufficiency to perform the same, only they must be persons of good rank, and gentile extraction: and they are all naturally discreet and very solid, and so the fitter for the Kings employment. When he first promotes them, he shews them great testimonies of his Love and Favour, (especially to those that are *Christians*, in whose service he imposeth greater confidence than in his own people, concluding that they will make more conscience of their ways, and be more faithful in their Office) and gives them a Sword, the hilt all carved and inlaid with Silver and Brass very handsomly, the Scabberd also covered with Silver, a Knife and Halberd; and lastly, a Town or Towns for their maintenance. The benefit of which is, that all the Profits which before the King received from those Towns, now accrues unto the Kings Officer. These Towns are composed of all sorts

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sorts of Trades and People that are necessary for his service to whom the King hath given them a *Potter*, a *Smith*, a *Washer*, And there is a piece of Land according to the ability of the Town, which the Townsmen are to Till and manure, and to lay up the Corn for his use. Which matters I mentioned before in the third *Chapter*. And besides the Customs or Taxes that all other free Towns pay to the King, there is a due, but smaller, to be paid to the Governour out of them. But these are not all his advantages. Chap. 5.

Other Benefits belonging to other Officers.

When there is a new Governour made over any Countrey, it is the Custom that that whole Countrey comes up to appear before him at the Court, for there his Residence is. Neither may they come empty handed, but each one must bring his Gift or Present with him. These also are expected at other times to be brought unto him by the people, tho they have no business with him, no suits or causes to be decided: even private Soldiers at their first coming tho to their due watch, must personally appear before their Commander, and if he have nothing else, he must Present him with forty leaves of green *Betle*, which he with his own hand receiveth, and they with both their and delivers into his, which is taken for an honour he vouchsafes them.

They must always reside at Court.

These Governours, nor any other admitted to Court into the Kings service, are never after to return home, altho they are not employed at present, and might be spared, neither are they permitted to enjoy their wives: and they are day and night to stand guard in certain stations, where the King appoints them.

The Officers under them.

Things thus standing with them, they cannot go in Person to visit and oversee their several Charges themselves. They have therefore several Officers under them to do it. The chief of whom is the *Courlividani*. This person beside his entertainment in the Countrey unto which he is sent to Govern under the *Dissauva*, hath a due revenue, but smaller then that of the Governour. His chief business is to wrack and hale all that may be for his Master, and to see good Government, and if there be any difference or quarrel between one or other, he takes a *Fine* from both, and carrieth to the Governour, not regarding equity but the profit of himself and him that imploys him. But he hears their case and determines it. And if they like not his sentence, they may remove their business unto the Governour himself, whose desire is not so much to find out the right of the cause, as that that may be most for his own interest and profit. And these carriages cannot reconcile them much love among the people; but the more they are hated by the people for their rigorous government, the better they please the King. For he cares not that the Countrey should affect the Great men. *Courlividani.*

The *Dissauva*'s by these *Courlividani* their Officers do oppress and squeez the people, by laying Mulcts upon them for some Crimes or Misdemeanors, that they will find and lay to their Charge. In *Fine* this Officer is the *Dissauva*'s chief *Substitute*, who orders and manages all affairs incumbent upon his Master.

Next to him is *Congconna*, *An Overseer*. Who is to oversee all things under the *Courlividani*. But besides him, there is a *Courti-Achila* like our *Cunstable*, who is to put that in execution that the Governour orders, to dispatch any thing away that the Land affords for the Kings use, and to send persons to Court, that are summoned. And *Congconna. Courti-atchila.*

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Part II.

And in the discharge of this his Office, he may call in the assistance of any man.

The *Liannah.*

The next Officer under the Governor is the *Liannah*, The *Writer.* Who reads Letters brought, and takes accounts of all Business, and of what is sent away to the Court: He is also to keep *Registers*, and to write Letters, and to take notice of things happening.

The *Undia.*

Next to him is the *Undia.* A word that signifieth *a lump.* He is a Person that gathers the King's Money: and is so styled because he gathereth the King's Monies together into a *lump.*

The *Monnannah:*

After him is the *Monnannah*, The *Measurer.* His Place is to go and measure the Corn that grows upon the King's Land. Or what other Corn belongeth to him.

The Power of these Officers extends not all a whole County or Province over, but to a convenient part or division of it. To wit, so much as they may well manage themselves. And there are several *sets* of the like Officers appointed over other Portions of the Countrey. As with us there are divers *Hundreds* or *Divisions* in a County. To each of which are distinct Officers belonging.

Some Towns exempt from the *Dissauva's.* Officers.

These Officers can exercise their Authority, throughout the whole Division over which they are constituted, excepting some certain Towns, that are of *exempt jurisdiction.* And they are of two sorts. First, such Towns as belong to the *Idol-Temples*, and the *Priests*, having been given and bestowed on them long ago by former Kings. And secondly, The Towns, which the King allots to his Noblemen and Servants. Over these Towns thus given away, neither the forementioned Officers, nor the chief Magistrate himself hath any Power. But those to whom they are given and do belong to, do put in their own Officers, who serve to the same purposes as the abovesaid do.

Other Officers yet,

But these are not all the Officers; there are others, whose place it is, upon the Death of any Head of a Family to fetch away the King's Marrals, *Harriots* as I may call them; *Viz.* a *Bull* and a *Cow*, a Male and Female *Buffalo*, out of his Stock. Which is accustomably due to the King, as I have mentioned before. And others, who in Harvest time carry away certain measures of Corn out of every Man's Crop according to the rate of their Land.

These Places obtained by Bribes.

These Inferior Officers commonly get their Places by Bribery; Their Children do pretend a right to them after their Father's Death, and will be preferred before others, greazing the Magistrate.

But remain only during pleasure.

None of these have their Places for life; and no longer than the Governor pleaseth. And he pretty often removes them or threatens to do so upon pretence of some neglects, to get Money from them. And the People have this privilege, that upon Complaint made of any of these Officers, and request that they may be changed and others made, They must be displaced, and others put in; but not at their Choice, but at the Choice of the Chief Magistrate, or Owner of the Town.

Countrey-Courts.

For the hearing Complaints and doing Justice among Neighbours, here are Countrey-Courts of *Judicature*, consisting of these Officers, together with the Head-Men of the Places and Towns, where the Courts are kept: and these are called *Gom sabbi*, as much as to say, *Town-Consultations.* But if any do not like, and is loath to stand by what they have determined, and think themselves wronged, they

They may appeal.

may

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may appeal to their Head-Governor, that dwells at Court; but it is chargeable, for he must have a Fee. They may appeal also from him to the *Adigars*, or the Chief *Justices* of the Kingdom. But whoso gives the greatest Bribe, he shall overcome. For it is a common saying in this Land, *That he that has Money to fee the Judge, needs not fear nor care, whether his cause be right or not.* The greatest Punishment that these Judges can inflict upon the greatest Malefactors, is but Imprisonment. From which Money will release them. Chap. 5.

Appeals to the King.

Some have adventured to Appeal to the King sometimes; falling down on the ground before him at his coming forth, which is the manner of their obeisance to him, to complain of Injustice. Sometimes he will give order to the great ones to do them right, and sometimes bid them wait, until he is pleased to hear the Cause, which is not suddenly: for he is very slow in all his Business: neither dare they then depart from the Court, having been bidden to stay. Where they stay till they are weary, being at Expence, so that the Remedy is worse than the Disease. And sometimes again when they thus fall before him, he commands to beat them and put them in Chains for troubling of him; and perhaps in that Condition they may lay for some years.

How these great Officers Travel upon publick Business.

The King's great Officers when they go abroad into the Countries about the King's Business, they go attended with a number of Soldiers armed both before and behind them; their Sword if not by their side, a Boy carrieth after them, neither do they carry their Swords for their safety or security. For in travelling here is little or no danger at all. But it is out of State, and to shew their greatness. The Custom is that all their journey Victuals be prepared for them ready dressed; and if their Business requires hast, then it is brought on a Pole on a Man's shoulder, the Pots that hold it hanging on each end, so that nothing can be spilt out into the road; and this is got ready against the great Man's coming. So that they are at no charge for Diet: It is brought in at the charge of the Countrey. But however this is not for all his Soldiers that attend him (they must bring their own Provisions with them) but only for himself, and some of his Captains.

Their Titles and Signs of State.

The greatest Title that is allowed in the City to be given to the greatest Man is *Oussary*, which signifieth *Worshipful*. But when they are abroad from the King, men call them *Sihattu* and *Dishondrew*, implying, *Honour* and *Excellency*. These Grandees whensoever they walk abroad, their manner is in State to lean upon the arm of some Man or Boy. And the *Adigar* besides this piece of State, whereseever he goes, there is one with a great Whip like a Coach-whip goes before him slashing it, that all People may have notice that the *Adigar* is coming.

The misery that succeeds their Honour.

But there is something comes after, that makes all the Honour and Wealth of these great Courtiers not at all desirable: and that is, that they are so obnoxious to the King's displeasure. Which is a thing so customary, that it is no disgrace for a Nobleman to have been in Chains, nay and in the Common Goal too. And the great Men are as ready when the King Commands, to lay hold on one another, as he to command them: and glad to have the Honour to be the King's Executioners, hoping to have the Place and Office of the Executed.

When

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Part II. When any of these are thus dispatched, commonly he cuts off or imprisoneth all the Male kind, that are near of Kin, as Sons or Brothers, fearing they should plot revenge, and seizes on all the Estate. And as for the Family, after Examination with Punishment to make them confess where the Estate lyes, they have Monthly Allowance out of the same. But the Wife or Women-Kindred are now nothing at all in esteem for *Honorable Ladies* as they were before. Yet sometimes he will send for the Sons or Brothers of these whom he hath cut off for Traitors, and remand them out of the Prisons where he had committed them; and prefer them in honorable Employment.

The foolish ambition of the Men and Women of this Countrey.

It is generally reported, and I have seen it so, that those whom he prefers unto the greatest and weightiest Imployments are those whom he intends soon to cut off, and contrariwise those whom he doth affect, and intends to have longer Service of, shall not be so laden with Places and Honours. Howbeit altho they know and see this before their eyes daily, yet their hearts are so haughty and ambitious, that their desires and endeavours are to ascend unto the highest degrees of honour: tho that be but one remove from Death and utter Destruction. And the Women's ambition is so great also, that they will put their Husbands on to seek for Preferment, urging how dishonorable it is for them to sit at home like Women, that so they may have respect, and be reputed for *great Ladies*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the King's Strength and Wars.

The King's Military Affairs.

IT remains now that I speak a little of the King's *Military Affairs*. His Power consists, in the *natural Strength* of his Countrey, in his *Watches*, and in the *Craft*, more than the *Courage*, of his Soldiers.

The natural strength of his Countrey.

He hath no Artificial *Forts* or *Castles*, but Nature hath supplied the want of them. For his whole Countrey of *Cande Uda*, standing upon such high Hills, and those so difficult to pass, is all an Impregnable Fort: and so is more especially *Digligy-neur* his present Palace. These Places have been already described at large; and therefore I omit speaking any further of them here.

Watches and Thorn-gates.

There are constant *Watches* set in convenient places in all parts of the Countrey, and *Thorn-gates*: but in time of danger, besides the ordinary Watches, in all Towns, and in all places and in every cross Road, exceeding thick, that 'tis not possible for any to pass unobserved. These *Thorn-gates* which I here mention and have done before, are made of a sort of *Thorn-bush* or *Thorn-tree*; each stick or branch whereof thrusts out on all sides round about, sharp prickles, like Iron Nails, of three or four inches long: one of these very Thorns I have lately seen in the *Repository* at *Gresham*-College: These sticks or branches being as big as a good Cane, are platted one very close to another, and so being fastned and tyed to three or four upright spars, are made in the fashion of a Door. This is hung upon a Door-case some ten or twelve foot high, (so that they may, and do ride thro upon Elephants)

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made of three pieces of Timber like a Gallows, after this manner ∏ the Thorn door hanging upon the transverse piece like a Shop window; and so they litt it up, or clap it down, as there is occasion: and tye it with a Rope to a cross Bar. Chap. 6.

But especially in all Roads and Passages from the City where the King now Inhabits, are very strict Watches set: which will suffer none to pass not having a *Passport*; which is the print of a Seal in clay: It is given at the Court to them that have Licence to go thrô the *Watches*. The Seals are different, according to the Profession of the Party: as to a *Soldier* the print of a man with a Pike on his Shoulder: to a *Labourer*, a Man with two Bags hanging on each end of a Pole upon his Shoulder, which is the manner they commonly carry their Loads. And to a *white man*, the Passport is the print of a Man with a Sword by his side, and a Hat on his head. And so many Men as there are in the Company, so many prints there must be in the Clay. There is not half the examination for those that come into the City, as for those that go out, whom they usually search to see what they carry with them. None to pass from the Kings City without Passports.

To speak now of their *Soldiery*, their *Expeditions* and *manner of Fight*. Besides the *Dissauvas*, spoken of before, who are great *Generals*, there are other great Captains. As those they call *Mote-Ralls*; as much as to say, *Scribes*. Because they keep the *Rolls* or *Registers* of certain Companies of Soldiers, each containing 970 Men, who are under their Command. Of these *Mote-Ralls*, there are four *principal*. But besides these, there are smaller *Commanders* over Soldiers; who have their Places from the King, and are not under the Command of the former great ones. Their Soldiery.

All these both Commanders and common Soldiers must wait at the Court. But with this difference. The great Men must do it continually: each one having his particular Watch appointed by the King. But the private Soldiers take their turns of Watching. And when they go, they do carry all their Provisions for the time of their stay with them upon their Backs. These Soldiers are not listed, (listing Soldiers being only upon extraordinary occasions) but are by Succession the Son after the Father. For which Service they injoy certain Lands and Inheritances, which is instead of Wages or Pay. This duty if they omit or neglect, they loose or forfeit their Inheritance. Or if they please to be released or discharged, they may, parting with their Land. And then their Commander placeth another in their room; but so long as the Land lies void, he converts the Profits to his own proper use. And he that after takes it, gives a Bribe to the Commander, who yet notwithstanding will not permit him to hold it above two or three years, unless he renew his Bribes. All Men of Arms wait at Court. The Soldiers have Lands allotted them instead of Pay.

The Soldiers of the *High Lands* called *Cande Uda*, are dispersed all over the Land; so that one scarcely knows the other, the King not suffering many Neighbours and Townsmen to be in one Company; which hath always heretofore been so ordered for fear of Conspiracies. To prevent the Soldiers from Plotting.

When the King sends any of these *Commanders* with their Armies abroad to War or otherwise, sometimes they see not his face, but he sends out their Orders to them by a Messenger; sometimes admits them into his Presence, and gives them their Orders with his own mouth. The manner of sending them out on Expeditions.

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Part II.

mouth, but nothing in Writing. And when ſeveral of them are ſent together upon any Deſign, there is not any one appointed to be Chief *Commander* or *General* over the whole Army; but each one as being *Chief* over his own Men, diſpoſeth and ordereth them according to his pleaſure; the others do the like. Which ſometimes begets diſagreement among themſelves, and by that means their Deſigns are fruſtrated. Neither doth he like or approve, that the great Commanders of his Soldiers ſhould be very intimate or good Friends, leſt they ſhould conſpire againſt him, nor will he allow them to diſagree in ſuch a degree that it be publickly known and obſerved.

The King requires all the Captains ſingly to ſend him intelligence of their Affairs.

And when there is any tidings to ſend the King, they do not ſend in general together by conſent, but each one ſends particularly by himſelf. And their common cuſtom and practice is to inform what they can one againſt another, thinking thereby to obtain the moſt favour and good will from the King. By this means there can nothing be done or ſaid, but he hath notice thereof.

When the War is finiſhed they may not return without order.

Being in this manner ſent forth, they dare not return, altho they have performed and finiſhed the Buſineſs they were ſent upon, until he ſend a ſpecial Order and Command to recall them.

The Condition of the common Soldiers.

When the Armies are ſent abroad, as he doth ſend them very often againſt the *Dutch*, it goeth very hard with the Soldiers; who muſt carry their Victuals and Pots to dreſs it in upon their Backs, beſides their Arms, which are Swords, Pikes, Bows and Arrows, and good Guns. As for Tents, for their Armies alwayes ly in the Fields, they carry *Tallipat* leaves, which are very light and convenient, along with them. With theſe they make their Tents: Fixing ſticks into the ground, and laying other pieces of Wood overthwart, after the manner of the roof of an Houſe, and ſo lay their leaves over all, to ſhoot the Rains off. Making theſe Tents ſtronger or ſlighter, according to the time of their tarriance. And having ſpent what Proviſions they carried out with them, they go home to fetch more. So that after a Month or two a great part of the Army is always abſent.

He conceals his purpoſe, when he ſends out his Army.

VVhenſoever the King ſends his Armies abroad upon any Expedition, the *Watches* beyond them are all ſecured immediately, to prevent any from paſſing to carry Intelligence to the Enemy. The Soldiers themſelves do not know the Deſign they are ſent upon, until they come there. None can know his intentions or meaning by his actions. For ſometimes he ſends Commanders with their Soldiers to ly in certain places in the Woods until farther order, or until he ſend *Ammunition* to them. And perhaps when they have laid there long enough, he ſends for them back again. And after this manner oftentimes he catches the *Hollanders* before they be aware, to their great prejudice and dammage. He cares not that his great Men ſhould be free-ſpirited or Valiant; if there be any better than the reſt, them to be ſure ſuddenly he cuts off, leſt they might do him any miſchief.

Great exploits done, and but little Courage.

They work chiefly by Stratagems.

In their War there is but little valour uſed, altho they do accompliſh many notable Exploits. For all they do is by crafty Stratagems. They will never meet their Enemies in the Field, to give them a repulſe by Battel, and force of Arms: neither is the Enemy like to meet with any oppoſition at their firſt goings out to invade the King's Coaſts, the King's Soldiers knowing the adverſe Forces are at firſt wary and vigilant, as alſo well provided with all Neceſſaries. But

their

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their usual practice is to way lay them, and stop up the wayes before them: there being convenient places in all the Roads, which they have contrived for such purposes. And at these places the Woods are not suffered to be felled, but kept to shelter them from the sight of their enemies. Here they lye lurking, and plant their Guns between the Rocks and Trees, with which they do great damage to their Enemies before they are aware. Nor can they then suddenly rush in upon them, being so well guarded with Bushes and Rocks before them, thro which before their Enemies can get, they flee carrying their great Guns upon their Shoulders and are gone into the Woods, where it is impossible to find them, until they come them selves to meet them after the former manner. Chap. 6.

Likewise they prepare against the enemies coming great bushy Trees, having them ready cut hanging only by withs which grow in the Wood; these as they march along they let fall among them with many shot and Arrows.

Being sent upon any design they are very circumspect to keep it hidden from the Enemies knowledg; by suffering only those to pass, who may make for their Benefit and advantage; their great endeavour being to take their Enemies unprovided and at unawares.

They understand the manner of Christian Armies.

By the long wars first between them and the *Portugueze*, and since with the *Hollander*, they have had such ample experience, as hath much improved them in the art of War above what they were formerly. And many of the chief Commanders and Leaders of their Armies are men which formerly served the *Portugueze* against them. By which they come to know the disposition and discipline of *Christian* Armies, Insomuch as they have given the *Dutch* several overthrows, and taken Forts from them, which they had up in the Countrey.

They seldom hazzard a battel.

Heretofore for bringing the head of an Enemy, the King used to to gratify them with some reward, but now the fashion is almost out of use. The ordering of their battel is with great security, there being very few lost in fight. For if they be not almost sure to win the battel, they had rather not fight, than run any hazzard of loosing it.

If they prove unsuccessful, how he punishes them.

If his men do not successfully accomplish the design he sends them upon, to be sure they shall have a lusty piece of work given them, to take revenge on them; for not using their weapons well he will exercise them with other tools houghs and pickaxes, about his Palace. And during the time they stay to work, they must bring their Victuals with them not having monies there to buy: They cannot carry for above one month, and when their Provisions are all spent, if they will have any more, they must go home and fetch them. But that is not permitted them without giving a Fee to the *Governour* or his *Overseer*. Neither can they go without his leave, for besides the punishment, the Watches which are in every Road from the Kings City will stop and seize them.

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CHAP. VII.

A Relation of the Rebellion made againſt the King.

A Comet uſhered in the Rebellion.

FOr the Concluſion of this Part, it will not be improper to relate here a dangerous riſing of the People againſt the King. It happened in the year 1664. About which time appeared a fearful *Blazing-Star*. Juſt at the Inſtant of the Rebellion, the Star was right over our heads. And one thing I very much wondred, at, which was that whereas before this Rebellion, the Tail ſtood away toward the *Weſtward* from which ſide the Rebellion ſprung, the very night after (for I very well obſerved it) the Tail was turned and ſtood away toward the *Eaſtward*. And by degrees it diminiſhed quite away.

The intent of the Conſpirators.

At this time, I ſay, the people of this land, having been long and ſore oppreſſed by this Kings unreaſonable and cruel Government, had contrived a Plot againſt him. Which was to aſſault the Kings Court in the night, and to ſlay him, and to make the Prince his Son, King. He being then ſome twelve or fifteen years of age, who was then with his Mother the Queen in the City of *Cande*. At this time the King held his Court in a City called *Nillemby*. The Situation of which is far inferior to that of *Cande*, and as far beyond that of *Digligy* where he now is. *Nillemby* lyeth ſome fourteen miles ſouthward of the City of *Cande*. In the place where this City ſtands it is reported by Tradition an *Hare* gave chaſe after a Dog, upon which it was concluded that place was fortunate, and ſo indeed it proved to the King. It is invironed with Hills and Woods.

How the Rebellion began.

The time appointed to put their deſign in action was the one and twentieth of *December* 1664. about *Twelve* in the night. And having gotten a ſelect company of men, how many well I know not, but as is ſuppoſed, not above two hundred, neither needed they many here, having ſo many Confederates in the Court; in the dead of the night they came marching into the City. The *Watch* was thought to be of their confedracy: but if he were not, it was not in his power to reſiſt them. Howbeit afterwards, whether he were not, he was executed for it. The ſaid men, being thus in the City, haſtened and came down to the Court; and fell upon the great men, which then laid without the Palace upon Watch: ſince which by the Kings order they lye allways within the Palace. For they were well informed before who were for them and who not. Many who before were not intruſted to know of their deſign, were killed and wounded; and thoſe that could, ſeeing the ſlaughter of others, got in unto the King. Who was walled about with a *Clay-wall*, thatched: that was all his ſtrength. Yet theſe people feared to aſſault him, laying ſtill until the morning. At which time the King made way to flee, fearing to ſtay in his Palace, endeavouring to get unto the mountains, and had not with him above fifty perſons. There were horſes went with him, but the wayes were ſo bad, that he could not ride. They were fain to drive an Elephant before him, to break the way through the Woods, that the King with his followers might paſs.

The King Flyes.

As

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Part II.

As he fled they purſued him, but at a great diſtance, fearing to approach within ſhot of him. For he wanted not for excellent good *Fowling-pieces*, which are made there. So he got ſafe upon a Mountain, called *Gauluda*, ſome fifteen miles diſtant, where many of the Inhabitants, that were near, reſorted to him. Howbeit had the people of the Rebel-party been reſolute, who were the major part (almoſt all the Land;) this Hill could not have ſecured him, but they might have driven him from thence; there being many ways by which they might have aſcended. There is not far from thence a high and peaked hill called *Mondamounour*, where there is but one way to get up, and that very ſteep, at the top are great ſtones hanging in chains to let fall when need requireth. Had he fled hither, there had been no way to come at him. But he never will adventure to go, where he may be ſtopped in.

They purſue him faintly.

The People having thus driven away the old King, marched away to the City of *Cande*, and proclaimed the Prince, *King*: giving out to us *Engliſh* who were there, that what they had done they had not done raſhly, but upon good Conſideration, and with good advice; the King by his evil Government having occaſioned it, who went about to deſtroy both them and their Countrey: As in keeping Ambaſſadours, diſanulling of Trade, detaining of all people that come upon his Land, and killing of his Subjects and their Children, and not ſuffering them to enjoy nor to ſee their Wives. And all this was contrary to reaſon, and as, they were informed, to the Government of other Countries.

They go to the Prince and Proclaim him King.

The Prince being young and tender, and having never been out of the Palace, nor ever ſeen any but thoſe that attended on his perſon, as it ſeemed afterwards, was ſcared to ſee ſo many coming and bowing down to him, and telling him that he was *King*, and his Father was fled into the mountains. Neither did he ſay or act any thing, as not owning the buſineſs, or elſe not knowing what to ſay or do. This much diſcouraged the Rebells, to ſee they had no more thanks for their pains. And ſo all things ſtood until the five and twentieth of *December*, at which time they intended to march and fall upon the old King.

The carriage of the Prince.

But in the Interim, the Kings Siſter Flyes away with the Prince from the Court into the Countrey near unto the King; which ſo amazed the Rebells, that the mony and cloth and plunder which they had taken, and were going to diſtribute to the *Strangers* to gain their good will and aſſiſtance, they ſcattered about and fled. Others of their Company ſeeing the Buſineſs was overthrown, to make amends for their former fact, turned and fell upon their Conſorts, killing and taking Priſoners all they could. The people were now all up in arms one againſt another, killing whom they pleas'd, only ſaying they were *Rebells* and taking their goods.

Upon the Princes Flight, the Rebells ſcatter and run.

By this time a great man had drawn out his men, and ſtood in the Field, and there turned and publickly declared for the old King: and ſo went to catch the Rebells that were ſcattered abroad. Who when he underſtood that they were all fled, and no whole party or body left to reſiſt him, marched into the City killing all that he could catch.

A great man declares for the King.

And ſo all revolted, and came back to the King again: whilſt he only lay ſtill upon his mountain. The King needed not to take care to catch or execute the Rebells, for they themſelves out of their zeal to

For eight or ten days nothing but killing one ano-

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Chap. 8. to him, and to make amends for what was paſt, impriſoned and killed all they met; the Plunder being their own. This continued for ſome eight or ten days. Which the King hearing of, commanded to kill no more, but that whom they took they ſhould impriſon, until examination paſsed; which was not ſo much to ſave innocent perſons from violence, as that he might have the Rebells to torment them, and make them confeſs of their Confederates. For he ſpared none that ſeemed guilty: ſome to this day lye chained in Priſon, being ſequeſtred of all their Eſtates, and beg for their living. One of the moſt noted Rebells, called *Ambom Wellaraul*, he ſent to *Columba* to the *Dutch* to execute, ſuppoſing they would invent new Tortures for him, beyond what he knew of. But they inſtead of executing him, cut off his chains, and kindly entertained him, and there he ſtill is in the City of *Columba*, reſerving him for ſome deſigns they may hereafter have againſt the Countrey.

ther to approve themſelves good Subjects.

The King could but not be ſenſible, that it was his rigorous government that had occaſioned this Rebellion, yet amended it not in the leaſt; but on the contrary like to *Rehoboam*, added yet more to the Peoples yoak. And being thus ſafely re-inſtated in his Kingdom again, and obſerving that the life of his Son gave encouragement to the Rebellion, reſolved to prevent it for the future by taking him away. Which upon the next opportunity he did by Poyſoning him, which I have related before.

The King poyſons his Son to prevent a Rebellion hereafter.

But one thing there is, that argues him guilty of imprudence and horrible ingratitude, that moſt of thoſe that went along with him when he fled, of whoſe *Loyalty* he had ſuch ample experience, he hath ſince cut off; and that with extreme cruelty too.

His ingratitude.

In the year 1666 in the month of *February*, there appeared in this Countrey another *Comet* or ſtream in the Weſt, the head end under the *Horizon*, much reſembling that which was ſeen in *England* in the year 1680 in *December*. The ſight of this did much daunt both King and People, having but a year or two before felt the ſad event of a *Blazing-Star* in this Rebellion which I have now related. The King ſent men upon the higheſt mountains in the Land to look if they could perceive the head of it, which they could not, being ſtill under the *Horizon*. This continued viſible about the ſpace of one month, and by that time it was ſo diminiſhed, that it could not be ſeen. But there were no remarkable paſſages that enſued upon it.

Another *Comet*, but without any bad effects following it.

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A Vadda or Wild Man.

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PART III.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Inhabitants of this Island.

WEE shall in this *Part* speak of the Inhabitants of this Countrey, with their *Religion*, and *Customs*, and other things belonging to them.

Besides the *Dutch* who possess, as I judg, about one fourth of the Island, there are *Malabars*, that are *free Denizons*, and pay duty to the King for the Land they enjoy, as the Kings natural Subjects do; there are also *Moors*, who are like Strangers, and hold no Land, but live by carrying goods to the Sea-Ports, which now are in the *Hollanders* hands. The Sea-Ports are inhabited by a mixt people, *Malabars* and *Moors*, and some that are *black*, who profess themselves *Roman Catholicks*, and wear *Crosses*, and use *Beads*. Some of these are under the *Hollander*; and pay toll and tribute to them. The several Inhabitants of this Island.

But I am to speak only of the natural proper People of the Island, which they call *Chingulays*.

I have asked them, whence they derive themselves, but they could not tell. They say their Land was first inhabited by *Devils*, of which they have a long Fable. I have heard a tradition from some *Portugueze* here, which was; That an antient King of *China* had a Son, who during his Fathers Reign, proved so very harsh and cruel unto the people, that they being afraid he might prove a Tyrant if he came to the Crown, desired the King to banish him, and that he might never succeed. This that King, to please the people, granted. And so put him with certain Attendants into a ship, and turned them forth unto the Winds to seek their fortune. The first shore they were cast upon, was this Island. Which they seated themselves on, and peopled it. But to me nothing is more improbable than this Story. Because this people and the *Chineses* have no agreement nor similitude in their features nor language nor diet. It is more probable, they came from the *Malabars*, their Countrey lying next, tho they do resemble them little or nothing. I know no nation in the world do so exactly resemble the *Chingulays* as the people of *Europe*. The Original of *Chingulays*.

Of these *Natives* there be two sorts, *Wild* and *Tame*. I will begin with the former. For as in these Woods there are Wild *Beasts*, so Wild *Men* also. The Land of *Bintan* is all covered with mighty Woods, filled with abundance of *Deer*. In this Land are many of these wild-men; they call them *Vaddahs*, dwelling near no other Inhabitants. They speak the *Chingulayes* Language. They kill *Deer*, and dry the Flesh over the fire, and the people of the Countrey come and buy it of them. They never Till any ground for Corn, their Food being only Flesh. They are very expert with their Bows. They have a little Ax, which they stick in by their sides, to cut hony out of hollow Trees. Some few, which are near Inhabitants, have commerce with other people. They have no Towns nor Houses, only live by the waters under Wild-men.

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Chap. 1. under a Tree, with some boughs cut and laid round about them, to give notice when any wild Beasts come near, which they may hear by their rustling and trampling upon them. Many of these habitations we saw when we fled through the Woods, but God be praised the *Vaddahs* were gone.

By an acknowledgment to the King.

Some of the tamer sort of these men are in a kind of Subjection to the King. For if they can be found, tho it must be with a great search in the Woods, they will acknowledg his Officers, and will bring to them *Elephants-Teeth*, and *Honey*, and *Wax*, and *Deers Flesh* : but the others in lieu thereof do give them near as much, in Arrows, Cloth &c. fearing lest they should otherwise appear no more.

How they bespeak Arrows to be made them.

It hath been reported to me by many people, that the wilder sort of them, when they want Arrows, will carry their load of Flesh in the night, and hang it up in a *Smith*'s Shop, also a Leaf cut in the form they will have their Arrows made, and hang by it. Which if the *Smith* do make according to their Pattern they will requite, and bring him more Flesh: but if he make them not, they will do him a mischief one time or another by shooting in the night. If the *Smith* make the Arrows, he leaves them in the same place, where the *Vaddahs* hung the Flesh.

They violently took away Carriers goods.

Formerly, in this Kings Reign these wild men used to lye in wait, to catch *Carriers* people, that went down with Oxen to trade at the Sea-Ports, carrying down *Betelnuts*, and bringing up Cloth, and would make them to give them such things as they required, or else threatning to shoot them. They fearing their lives, and not being able to resist, were fain to give them what they asked; or else most certainly they would have had both life and goods too. At which this King sent many *Commanders* with their Soldiers to catch them, which at length they did: But had not some of themselves proved false to them, being incouraged by large promises, they could never have taken them. The chief being brought before the King, promising amendment, were pardoned: but sent into other Woods with a Command not to return thither any more, neither to use their former courses. But soon after their departure, they forsook those Woods they were put into, and came to their old haunt again, falling to their former course of Life. This the King hearing of, and how they had abused his Pardon, gave command either to bring them dead or alive. These *Vaddahs* knowing now there could be no hope of Pardon, would not be taken alive, but were shot by the Treachery of their own men. The heads of two of the chiefest were hanged on Trees by the City. And ever since they have not presumed to disturb the Countrey, nor the King them he only desiring their quiet, and not to be against him.

Hourly Vaddahs trade with the people.

About *Hourly* the remotest of the Kings Dominions there are many of them, that are pretty tame, and come and buy and sell among the people. The King once having occasion of an hasty Expedition against the *Dutch*, the Governour summoned them all in to go with him, which they did. And with their Bows and Arrows did as good service as any of the rest but afterwards when they returned home again, they removed farther in the Woods, and would be seen no more, for fear of being afterwards prest again to serve the King.

One made to serve the King.

Their habit and Religion.

They never cut their hair but tye it up on their Crowns in a bunch. The cloth they use, is not broad nor large, scarcely enough to cover their

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their Buttocks. The *wilder* and *tamer* sort of them do both observe a Religion. They have a God peculiar to themselves. The *tamer* do build Temples, the *wild* only bring their sacrifice under Trees, and while it is offering, dance round it, both men and women. Part. III.

They have their bounds in the Woods among themselves, and one company of them is not to shoot nor gather hony or fruit beyond those bounds. Neer the borders stood a *Jack-Tree*; one *Vaddah* being gathering some fruit from this Tree, another *Vaddah* of the next division saw him, and told him he had nothing to do to gather *Jacks* from that Tree, for that belonged to them. They fell to words and from words to blows, and one of them shot the other. At which more of them met and fell to skirmishing so briskly with their Bows and Arrows, that twenty or thirty were left dead upon the spot. A Skirmish about their bounds.

They are so curious of their *Arrows* that no Smith can please them. The King once to gratifie them for a great Present they brought him, gave all of them of his best made Arrow-blades: which nevertheless would not please their humour. For they went all of them to a Rock by a River and ground them into another form. The Arrows they use are of a different fashion from all other, and the *Chingulays* will not use them. Curious in their Arrows.

They have a peculiar way by themselves of *preserving Flesh*. They cut a hollow Tree and put honey in it, and then fill it up with flesh, and stop it up with clay. Which lyes for a reserve to eat in time of want. How they preserve their flesh.

It has usually been told me that their way of *catching Elephants* is, that when the Elephant lyes asleep they strike their ax into the sole of his foot, and so laming him he is in their power to take him. But I take this for a fable, because I know the sole of the Elephants foot is so hard, that no ax can pierce it at a blow; and he is so wakeful that they can have no opportunity to do it. How they take Elephants.

For portions with their Daughters in marriage they give hunting Dogs. They are reported to be courteous. Some of the *Chingulays* in discontent will leave their houses and friends, and go and live among them, where they are civilly entertained. The tamer sort of them, as hath been said, will sometimes appear, and hold some kind of trade with the tame Inabitants, but the wilder called *Ramba-Vaddahs* never shew themselves. The dowries they give. Their disposition.

But to come to the *civilized* Inhabitants, whom I am chiefly to treat of. They are a people proper and very well favoured, beyond all people that I have seen in *India*, wearing a cloth about their Loyns, and a doublet after the English fashion, with little skirts buttoned at the wrists, and gathered at the shoulders like a shirt, on their heads a red *Tunnis* Cap, or if they have none, another Cap with flaps of the fashion of their Countrey, described in the next Chapter, with a handsom short hanger by their side, and a knife sticking in their bosom on the right side. A description of a *Chingulay*.

They are very active and nimble in their Limbs: and very ingenious: for, except Iron-work, all other things they have need of, they make and do themselves: insomuch that they all build their own houses. They are crafty and treacherous, not to be trusted upon any protestations: for their manner of speaking is very smooth and courteous, insomuch that they who are unacquainted with their dispositi- Their disposition.

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Part. III. ons and manners, may easily be deceived by them. For they make no account nor conscience of lying, neither is it any shame or disgrace to them, if they be catched in telling lyes: it is so customary. They are very vigilant and wakeful, sufficed with very little sleep: very hardy both for diet and weather, very proud and self conceited. They take something after the *Bramines*, with whom they scruple not both to marry and eat. In both which otherwise they are exceeding shy and cautious. For there being many *Ranks* or *Casts* among them, they will not match with any Inferiour to themselves; nor eat meat dressed in any house, but in those only that are of as good a *Cast* or Race as themselves: and that which any one hath left, none but those that are near of kin will eat.

They are not very malitious one towards another; and their anger doth not last long; seldom or never any blood shed among them in their quarrels. It is not customary to strike; and it is very rare that they give a blow so much as to their *Slaves*; who may very familiarly talk and discourse with their *Masters*. They are very near and covetous, and will pinch their own bellies for profit; very few spend-thrifts or bad husbands are to be met with here.

The Inhabitants of the Mountains differ from those of the *Low-lands*.

The Natures of the Inhabitants of the Mountains and Low-lands are very different. They of the *Low-lands* are kind, pittiful, helpful, honest and plain, compassionating Strangers, which we found by our own experience among them. They of the *Up-lands* are ill-natured, false, unkind, though outwardly fair and seemingly courteous, and of more complaisant carriage, speech and better behaviour, than the *Low-landers*.

Their good opinion of Virtue, though they practice it not.

Of all Vices they are least addicted to *stealing*, the which they do exceedingly hate and abhor; so that there are but few Robberies committed among them. They do much extol and commend Chastity, Temperance, and Truth in words and actions; and confess that it is out of weakness and infirmity, that they cannot practice the same, acknowledging that the contrary Vices are to be abhorred, being abomination both in the sight of God and Man. They do love and delight in those Men that are most Devout and Precise in their Matters. As for bearing Witness for Confirmation in any matters of doubt, a *Christians* word will be believed and credited far beyond their own: because, they think, they make more Conscience of their words.

Superstitious.

They are very superstitious in making Observations of any little Accidents, as *Omens* portending good to them or evil. *Sneezing* they reckon to import evil. So that if any chance to *sneeze* when he is going about his Business, he will stop, accounting he shall have ill success if he proceeds. And none may *Sneeze*, *Cough*, nor *Spit* in the King's Presence, either because of the ill boding of those actions, or the rudeness of them or both. There is a little Creature much like a *Lizzard*, which they look upon altogether as a *Prophet*, whatsoever work or business they are going about; if he crys, they will cease for a space, reckoning that he tells them there is a bad Planet rules at that instant. They take great notice in a Morning at their first going out, who first appears in their sight: and if they see a *White* Man, or a big-bellied Woman, they hold it *fortunate*: and to see any decrepit or deformed People, as *unfortunate*.

How they travail.

When they travel together a great many of them, the Roads are so narrow,

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narrow, that but one can go abreast, and if there be Twenty of them, there is but one Argument or Matter discoursed of among them all from the first to the last. And so they go talking along all together, and every one carrieth his Provisions on his back for his whole Journey. Chap. 1.

A brief Character of them.

In short, in Carriage and Behaviour they are very grave and stately like unto the *Portugals*, in understanding quick and apprehensive, in design subtil and crafty, in discourse courteous but full of Flatteries, naturally inclined to temperance both in meat and drink, but not to Chastity, near and Provident in their Families, commending good Husbandry. In their dispositions not passionate, neither hard to be reconciled again when angry. In their Promises very unfaithful, approving lying in themselves, but misliking it in others; delighting in sloath, deferring labour till urgent necessity constrain them, neat in apparel, nice in eating; and not given to much sleep.

The Women their Habit and Nature.

As for the *Women*, their Habit is a Waistcoat of white *Callico* covering their Bodies, wrought into flourishes with Blew and Red; their Cloath hanging longer or shorter below their Knees, according to their quality; a piece of Silk flung over their heads; Jewels in their Ears, Ornaments about their Necks, and Arms, and Middles. They are in their gate and behaviour very high, stately in their carriage after the *Portugal* manner, of whom I think they have learned: yet they hold it no scorn to admit the meanest to come to speech of them. They are very thrifty, and it is a disgrace to them to be prodigal, and their Pride & Glory to be accounted near & saving. And to praise themselves they will sometimes say, *That scraps and parings will serve them; but that the best is for their Husbands.* The Men are not jealous of their Wives, for the greatest *Ladies* in the Land will frequently talk and discourse with any Men they please, altho their Husbands be in presence. And altho they be so stately, they will lay their hand to such work as is necessary to be done in the House, notwithstanding they have Slaves and Servants enough to do it. Let this suffice concerning the Nature and Manners of the People in general: The ensuing Chapters will be spent in more particular accounts of them. And because they stand much upon their *Birth* and *Gentility*, and much of what is afterwards to be related hath reference unto it: I shall first speak of the various ranks and degrees of Men among them.

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Part III.

CHAP. II.

Concerning their different Honours, Ranks, and Qualities.

How they distinguish themselves according to their qualities.

AMong this People there are divers and sundry *Casts* or degrees of Quality, which is not according to their Riches or Places of Honour the King promotes them to, but according to their *Descent* and *Blood.* And whatsoever this Honour is, be it higher or lower, it remains Hereditary from Generation to Generation. They abhor to eat or drink, or intermarry with any of Inferior Quality to themselves. The signs of higher or meaner Ranks, are wearing of *Doublets*, or going bare-backed without them: the *length* of their Cloth below their knees; their *sitting* on Stools, or on Blocks or Mats spread on the Ground: and in their *Caps*.

They never marry beneath their rank.

They are especially careful in their *Marriages*, not to match with any inferior *Cast*, but always each within their own rank: *Riches* cannot prevail with them in the least to marry with those by whom they must eclipse and stain the Honour of their Family: on which they set an higher price than on their lives. And if any of the *Females* should be so deluded, as to commit folly with one beneath her self, if ever she should appear to the sight of her Friends, they would certainly kill her, there being no other way to wipe off the dishonour she hath done the Family, but by her own Blood.

In case a Man lies with a Woman of inferior rank.

Yet for the Men it is something different; it is not accounted any shame or fault for a Man of the highest sort to lay with a Woman far inferior to himself, nay of the very lowest degree; provided he neither eats nor drinks with her, nor takes her home to his House, as a Wife. But if he should, which I never knew done, he is punished by the Magistrate, either by Fine or Imprisonment, or both, and also he is utterly ecluded from his Family, and accounted thenceforward of the same rank and quality, that the Woman is of, whom he hath taken. If the Woman be married already, with whom the Man of better rank lies, and the Husband come and catch them together; how low soever the one be and high the other, he may kill him, and her too, if he please.

And thus by Marrying constantly each rank within it self, the Descent and Dignity thereof is preserved for ever; and whether the Family be high or low it never alters. But to proceed to the particular ranks and degrees of Men among them.

Their Noblemen.

The highest, are their *Noblemen*, called *Hondrews*. Which I suppose comes from the word *Homdrewné*, a Title given to the King, signifying *Majesty:* these being honourable People. 'Tis out of this sort alone, that the King chooseth his great Officers and whom he imploys in his Court, and appoints for Governors over his Countrey. Riches are not here valued, nor make any the more Honourable. For many of the lower sorts do far exceed these *Hondrews* in Estates. But it is the Birth and Parentage that inobleth.

How distinguished from others.

These are distinguished from others by their *names*, and the wearing of their *cloth*, which the Men wear down half their Legs, and the Women to their Heels: one end of which Cloth the Women fling over their Shoulders, and with the very end carelesly cover their

Breasts.

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Breasts; whereas the other sort of Women must go naked from the waist upwards, and their Cloaths not hang down much below their Knees: except it be for cold; for then either Women or Men may throw their Cloth over their Backs. But then they do excuse it to the *Hondrews*, when they meet them, saying, *Excuse me, it is for warmth.* Chap. 2.

The distinction by Caps.

They are distinguished also by their own Countrey-*Caps*, which are of the fashion of *Mitres*: there are two flaps tied up over the top of the Crown. If they be *Hondrews*, their Caps are all of one Colour, either White or Blew: if of inferior quality, than the Cap and the flaps on each side be of different Colours, whereof the Flaps are always Red.

Of the *Hondrews* two sorts.

Of these *Hondrews* there be two sorts, the one somewhat Inferior to the other as touching Marriage; but not in other things. The greatest part of the Inhabitants of the Land are of the degree of *Hondrews*.

All *Christians* either *White* or *Black* are accounted equal with the *Hondrews*. The *Whites* are generally Honourable, only it is an abatement of their Honour that they eat Beef, and wash not after they have been at Stool; which things are reckoned with this People an Abomination.

An Honour like unto Knighthood.

Among the Noblemen may be mentioned an *Honour*, that the King confers, like unto *Knighthood*; it ceaseth in the Person's death, and is not Hereditary. The King confers it by putting about their Heads a piece of Silk or Ribbond embroidered with Gold and Silver, and bestowing a *Title* upon them. They are stiled *Mundianna*. There are not above two or three of them now in the Realm living.

Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, &c.

Next after the degree of *Hondrews* may be placed *Goldsmiths*, *Blacksmiths*, *Carpenters* and *Painters*. Who are all of one degree and quality. But the *Hondrews* will not eat with them: however in Apparel there is no difference; and they are also privileged to sit on Stools, which none of the Inferior ranks of People hereafter mentioned, may do. Heretofore they were accounted almost equal to the Inferior sort of *Hondrewes*, and they would eat in these Artificers Houses, but afterwards they were degraded upon this occasion. It chanced some *Hondrews* came to a *Smith's Shop* to have their Tools mended, when it came to be Dinner time, the Smith leaves work, and goes in to his House to dine, leaving the *Hondrewes* in his Shop: who had waited there a great while to have their work done. Now whether the Smith fearing lest their hunger might move them to be so impudent or desperate as to partake with him of his Dinner, clapt to his Door after him: Which was taken so hainously by those hungry People in his Shop, that immediately they all went and declared abroad what an affront the Smith had put upon them. Whereupon it was decreed and confirmed, that for ever after all the People of that rank should be deposed, and deprived of the Honour of having the *Hondrewes* to eat in their Houses. Which Decree hath stood in force ever since.

The Privilege and state of the Smiths.

Nevertheless these *Smiths* take much upon them, especially those who are the King's *Smiths*; that is, such who live in the King's Towns, and do his work. These have this Privilege, that each has a parcel of Towns belonging to them, whom none but they are to work for. The

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Part III. ordinary work they do for them is mending their Tools, for which every Man pays to his Smith a certain Rate of Corn in Harveſt time according to ancient Cuſtom. But if any hath work extraordinary, as making new Tools or the like, beſides the aforeſaid Rate of Corn, he muſt pay him for it. In order to this, they come in an humble manner to the Smith with a Preſent, being Rice, Hens, and other ſorts of Proviſion, or a Bottle of Rack, deſiring him to appoint his time, when they ſhall come to have their work done. Which when he hath appointed them, they come at the ſet time, and bring both Coals and Iron with them. The Smith ſits very gravely upon his Stool, his Anvil before him, with his left hand towards the Forge, and a little Hammer in his Right. They themſelves who come with their work muſt blow the Bellows, and when the Iron is to be beaten with the great Maul, he holds it, ſtill ſitting upon his Stool, and they muſt hammer it themſelves, he only with his little Hammer knocking it ſometimes into faſhion. And if it be any thing to be filed, he makes them go themſelves and grind it upon a Stone, that his labour of fileing may be the leſs; and when they have done it as well as they can, he goes over it again with his file and finiſheth it. That which makes theſe *Smiths* thus ſtately is, becauſe the Towns People are compelled to go to their own Smith, and none elſe. And if they ſhould, that Smith is liable to pay Dammages that ſhould do work for any in another Smith's Juriſdiction.

Craftſmen. All that are of any Craft or Profeſſion are accounted of an inferior degree, as *Elephant Catchers*, and *Keepers*, who are reckoned equal with the Smiths, &c. aboveſaid, tho they neither eat nor marry together; and theſe may wear Apparel as do the *Hondrews*, and ſit on Stools, but the *Hondrews* eat not with them.

No Artificers ever change their Trade from Generation to Generation; but the Son is the ſame as was his Father, and the Daughter marries only to thoſe of the ſame Craft: and her Portion is ſuch Tools as are of uſe, and do belong unto the Trade: tho the Father may give over and above what he pleaſeth.

Barbars. Next are are *Barbars*; both the Women and Men may wear Doublets, but not ſit on Stools, neither will any eat with them.

Potters. *Potters* yet more Inferior, may not wear any Doublets, nor their Cloth much below the Knee, nor ſit on Stools, neither will any eat with them. But they have this Privilege, becauſe they make the Pots, that when they are athirſt being at a *Hondrew's Houſe*, they may take his Pot, which hath a Pipe to it, and pour the Water into their mouths themſelves: which none other of theſe inferior degrees may be admitted to do: but they muſt hold their hands to their mouths and gape, and the *Hondrews* themſelves will pour the Water in. The Potters were at firſt denied this Honour, upon which they joyntly agreed to make Pots with Pipes only for themſelves, and would ſell none to the *Hondrews* that wanted; whereat being conſtrained, they condeſcended to grant them the Honour above other inferior People, that they ſhould have the favour to drink out of theſe Pots with ſpouts at their Houſes.

Waſhers. The next are the *Ruddaughs*, *Waſhers*. Of theſe there are great Numbers. They waſh Cloths for all People to the degree of a *Potter*; but for none below that degree. Their uſual Poſture is to carry a Cloth

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Cloth on their Shoulder, both Men and Women: They use *Lye* in their washing, setting a Pot over the Fire holding seven or eight Gallons of Water, and lay the foul Cloths on the top; and the steam of the water goes into the Cloths and scalds them. Then they take them and carry them to a River side, and instead of rubbing them with their hands, slap them against the Rock, and they become very clean; nor doth this tear the Cloths at all, as they order it. Chap. 2.

Another rank after these are the *Hungrams*, or *Jaggory-Makers*. Tho none will eat with them, yet it is lawful to buy and eat the *Jaggory* they make, (which is a kind of *Sugar*) but nothing else. *Jaggory-Makers.*

Another sort among them is the *Poddah*. These are of no Trade or Craft, but are Husbandmen and Soldiers, yet are inferior to all that have been named hitherto. For what reason neither I, nor, I think, themselves can tell: only thus it falls to them by Succession from their Predecessors, and so will ever remain. *The Poddah.*

After these are the *Weavers*. Who beside their Trade, which is Weaving Cloth, are *Astrologers*, and tell the People good Days and good Seasons: and at the Birth of a Child write for them an account of the day, time and Planet, it was born in and under. These accounts they keep with great Care all their Life-time: by which they know their Age, and what success or evil shall befall them. *Weavers.*

These People also beat Drums, and play on Pipes, and dance in the Temples of their *Gods*, and at their Sacrifices; they eat and carry away all such Victuals as are offered to their Idols. Both which to do and take, is accounted to belong to People of a very low degree and quality. These also will eat dead Cows.

Next to the *Weavers* are the *Kiddeas* or *Basket-Makers*. Who make Fans to fan Corn, and Baskets of Canes, and Lace, Bedsteds and Stools. *Basket-Makers.*

Then follow the *Kirinerahs*. Whose Trade is to make fine Matts. These Men may not wear any thing on their Heads. The VVomen of none of these sorts ever do. Of these two last there are but few. *Mat-Makers.*

All below the *Couratto* or *Elephant-Men*, may not sit on Stools, nor wear Doublets, except the *Barbar*, nor wear the Cloth low down their Legs. Neither may any of these ranks of People, either Man or Woman, except the *Potter* and the *Washer*, wear the end of their Cloth to cover their Bodies, unless they be sick or cold. Neither may they presume to be called by the *Names* that the *Hondrews* are called by; nor may they, where they are not known, change themselves by pretending or seeming to be higher than Nature hath made them: and I think they never do, but own themselves in the rank and quality wherein they were born, and demean themselves accordingly. *The lower ranks may not assume the Habit or Names of the higher.*

All *Outlandish* People are esteemed above the inferior ranks. The Names of the *Hondrews* always end in *oppow*, of others below the degree of the *Elephant People* in *adgah*,

The *Slaves* may make another rank. For whose maintenance, their *Masters* allow them Land and Cattle. Which many of them do so improve; that except in Dignity they are not far behind their Masters, only they are not permitted to have *Slaves*. Their Masters will not diminish or take away ought, that by their Diligence and Industry they have procured, but approve of it, as being Persons capable to re- *Slaves.*

pose

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Part III. pose trust in. And when they do buy or otherways get a new Slave, they presently provide him a Wife, and so put him forward to keep House, and settle, that he may not think of running away. *Slaves* that are born of *Hondrew* Parents, retain the Honour of their degree.

Beggars. There is one sort of People more, and they are the *Beggars*: who for their Transgression, as hereafter shall be shewn, have by former Kings been made so low and base, that they can be no lower or baser. And they must and do give such titles and respects to all other People, as are due from other People to Kings and Princes.

The Reason they became so base and mean a People. The Predecessors of these People, from whom they sprang, were *Dodda Vaddahs*, which signifies *Hunters*: to whom it did belong to catch and bring Venison for the King's Table. But instead of Venison they brought Man's flesh, unknown; which the King liking so well, commanded to bring him more of the same sort of Venison. The King's *Barbar* chanced to know what flesh it was, and discovered it to him. At which the King was so inraged, that he accounted death too good for them; and to punish only those Persons that had so offended, not a sufficient recompence for so great an Affront and Injury as he had sustained by them. Forthwith therefore he established a *Decree*, that all both great and small, that were of that Rank or Tribe, should be expelled from dwelling among the Inhabitants of the Land, and not be admitted to use or enjoy the benefit of any means, or ways, or callings whatsoever, to provide themselves sustinence; but that they should beg from Generation to Generation, from Door to Door, thro' the Kingdom; and to be looked upon and esteemed by all People to be so base and odious, as not possibly to be more.

And they are to this day so detestable to the People, that they are not permitted to fetch water out of their Wells; but do take their water out of Holes or Rivers. Neither will any touch them, lest they should be defiled.

And thus they go a begging in whole Troops, both Men, Women, and Children, carrying both Pots and Pans, Hens and Chickens, and whatsoever they have, in Baskets hanging on a Pole, at each end one, upon their Shoulders. The Women never carry any thing, but when they come to any House to beg, they Dance and shew Tricks, while the Men beat Drums. They will turn Brass Basons on one of their fingers, twirling it round very swift, and wonderfully strange. And they will toss up Balls into the Air one after another to the number of *Nine*, and catch them as they fall, and as fast as they do catch them, still they toss them up again; so that there are always *Seven* up in the Air. Also they will take Beads of several Colours, and of one size, and put them in their mouths, and then take them one by one out of their mouths again each Colours by themselves. And with this Behaviour, and the high and honourable Titles which they give, as to Men, *Your Honour*, and *Your Majesty*; and to Women, *Queens*, *Countesses*; and to white Men, *White of the Royal Blood*, &c. They do beg for their living; and that with so much importunity, as if they had a *Patent* for it from the King, and will not be denied; pretending that it was so ordered and decreed, that by this very means they should be maintained, and unless they mean to perish with hunger they cannot accept of a denyal. The People on the other hand cannot without horrible shame, lift up their hand against them to strike or thrust them away;

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away; so rather than to be troubled with their importunity, they will relieve them. Chap. 2.

They live well.

And thus they live, building small *Hovels* in remote Places, Highways, under Trees. And all the Land being, as it were of Necessity, Contributers towards their maintenance, these Beggars live without labour, as well or better, than the other sorts of People; being free from all sorts of Service and Duties, which all other are compelled to perform for the King. Of them it is only required to make Ropes of such Cow-hides, as die of themselves, to catch and tie Elephants with: By which they have another Privilege, to claim the flesh thereof for themselves, from the *Weavers*. Who when they meet with any dead Cows, use to cut them up and eat them. But if any of these *Roudeahs*, *Beggars*, see them, they will run to them and drive them away, offering to beat them with the Poles, whereon they carry their Baskets, saying to them, *How can we perform the King's Service to make Ropes of the Hide, if the Weavers hack and spoil it?* telling them also, *That it is beneath such honourable People as they, to eat such Unclean and Polluted flesh.* By these words, and the fear the Weavers are in to be touched by that base People, than which nothing could be more infamous, they are glad to get them away as fast as they can.

Their Contest with the Weavers about dead Cows.

Incest common among them.

These Men being so low that nothing they can do, can make them lower, it is not unusual with them to lay with their Daughters, or for the Son to lay with his Mother, as if there were no Consanguinity among them.

A Punishment to deliver Noble Women to these Baggers.

Many times when the King cuts off Great and Noble Men, against whom he is highly incensed, he will deliver their Daughters and Wives unto this sort of People, reckoning it, as they also account it, to be far worse Punishment than any kind of Death. This kind of Punishment being accounted such horrible Cruelty, the King doth usually of his Clemency shew them some kind of Mercy, and pittying their Distress, Commands to carry them to a River side, and there to deliver them into the hands of those, who are far worse than the Executioners of Death: from whom, if these *Ladies* please to free themselves, they are permitted to leap into the River and be drowned; the which some sometimes will choose to do, rather than to consort with them.

Some of these Beggars keep Cattle and shoot Deer.

There are some of this sort of People which dwell in remote Parts, distant from any Towns, and keep Cattle, and sell them to the *Chingulayes*, also shoot Deer and sell them where they fall in the Woods; for if they should but touch them, none would buy them.

Refuse Meat dressed in a *Barbar*'s house.

The *Barbar's* Information having been the occasion of all this misery upon this People, they in revenge thereof abhor to eat what is dressed in the *Barbar's* House even to this day.

CHAP.

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Part III.

CHAP. III.

Of their Religion, Gods, Temples, Priests.

TO take a more particular view of the state of this Countrey, we shall *first* give some account of their *Religion*, as it justly requires the first place, and then of their other *secular concerns*.

Under their *Religion* will come to be considered, Their *Gods*, their *Temples*, their *Priests*, their *Festivals*, *Sacrifices*, and *Worship*, and their *Doctrines* and *Opinions*; and whatsoever other matters occur, that may concern this Subject.

Their Religion, their gods.

The Religion of the Countrey is *Idolatry*. There are many both *Gods* and *Devils*, which they worship, known by particular Names, which they call them by. They do acknowledge one to be the Supreme, whom they call *Ossa polla maupt Dio*, which signifieth *the Creator of Heaven and Earth*; and it is he also, who still ruleth and governeth the same. This great Supreme God, they hold, sends forth other *Deities* to see his Will and Pleasure executed in the World; and these are the petty and inferior gods. These they say are the Souls of good men, who formerly lived upon the Earth. There are *Devils* also, who are the Inflicters of Sickness and Misery upon them. And these they hold to be the Souls of evil men.

They worship the God that saves Souls.

There is another great God, whom they call *Buddou*, unto whom the Salvation of Souls belongs. Him they believe once to have come upon the Earth. And when he was here, that he did usually sit under a large shady Tree, called *Bogahah*. Which Trees ever since are accounted Holy, and under which with great Solemnities they do to this day celebrate the Ceremonies of his Worship. He departed from the Earth from the top of the highest Mountain on the Island, called *Pico Adam:* where there is an Impression like a foot, which, they say, is his, as hath been mentioned before.

The Sun and Moon they repute Deities.

The *Sun* and *Moon* they seem to have an Opinion to be *gods* from the Names they sometimes call them by. The *Sun* in their Language is *Irri*, and the *Moon Handa*. To which they will sometimes add the Title *Haumi*, which is a name they give to Persons of the greatest Honour; and *Dio*, that signifies *God*: saying *Irrihaumi*, *Irridio*: *Handahaumi*, *handa Dio*. But to the *Stars* they give not these Titles.

Some of their Temples of exquisite Work.

The *Pagoda's* or *Temples* of their Gods are so many that I cannot number them. Many of them are of Rare and Exquisite work, built of Hewn Stone, engraven with Images and Figures; but by whom and when I could not attain to know, the Inhabitants themselves being ignorant therein. But sure I am they were built by far more Ingenious Artificers, than the *Chingulayes* that now are on the Land. For the *Portugueze* in their Invasions have defaced some of them, which there is none found that hath Skill enough to repair to this day.

The form of their Temples.

The fashion of these *Pagoda's* are different; some, to wit those that were anciently built, are of better Workmanship, as was said before; but those lately erected are far Inferior; made only with Clay and Sticks, and no Windows. Some, *viz.* Those belonging to the *Buddou*, are in the form of a *Pigeon-House*, foursquare, one Story high, and

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and some two; the Room above has its Idols as well as that below. Some of them are Tiled, and some Thatched. Chap. 3.

In them are *Idols* and *Images* most monstrous to behold, some of silver, some of brass and other metals: and also painted sticks, and Targets, and most strange kind of Arms, as Bills, Arrows, Spears and Swords. But these Arms are not in the *Buddou*'s Temples, he being for Peace: therefore there are in his Temples only Images of men cross-legged with yellow coats on like the *Gonni*-Priests, their hair frisled, and their hands before them like women. And these they say are the spirits of holy men departed. Their Temples are adorned with such things as the peoples ability and poverty can afford; accounting it the highest point of Devotion, bountifully to dedicate such things unto their Gods, which in their estimation are most precious. The shape of their Idols.

As for these Images they say, they say they do not own them to be Gods themselves but only Figures, representing their Gods to their memories; and as such, they give to them honour and worship. They worship not the Idol, but whom it represents.

Women having their natural infirmities upon them may not, neither dare they presume to come near the Temples or houses of their Gods. Nor the men, if they come out of houses where such women are. The revenues of the Temples; and the honours thereof.

Unto each of these *Pagodas*, there are great Revenues of Land belonging: which have been allotted to them by former Kings, according to the State of the Kingdom: but they have much impaired the Revenues of the Crown, there being rather more Towns belonging to the Church, than unto the King. These estates of the Temples are to supply a daily charge they are at; which is to prepare victuals or sacrifices to set before the Idols. They have Elephants also as the King has, which serve them for State. Their Temples have all sorts of Officers belonging to them, as the Palace hath. They are dedicated to Gods.

Most of these *Pagodas* are dedicated to the name and honour of those, whom they call *Dio* or Gods: to whom, they say, belong the Government on earth, and of all things appertaining to this life.

Besides these *Publick* Temples, many people do build in their yards *private* Chappels, which are little houses, like to Closets, sometimes so small, that they are not above two foot in bigness, but built upon a Pillar three or four foot from the ground wherein they do place certain Image of the *Buddou*, that they may have him near them, and to testifie their love and service to him. Which they do by lighting up candles and lamps in his house, and laying flowers every morning before him. And at some times they boyl victuals and lay it before him. And the more they perform such ceremonious service to him here, the more shall be their ward hereafter. Private Chappels.

All blessings and good success, they say, come from the hand of *God*, but sickness and diseases proceed from the *Devil*; not that of himself he hath such absolute power, but as servants have power, licence and authority from their Masters, so they from God.

But the Gods will require some to wait at their Altars; and the Temples, men to officiate in them: their *Priests* therefore fall under the next consideration. Of these there are three sorts according to the three differences of Gods among them. And their Temples are also called by three different names. The Priests.

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Part III.

The first order of them.

The first and highest order of *Priests* are the *Tirinanxes*. Who are the Priests of the *Buddou God*. Their Temples are styled *Vehars*. There is a religious house in the City of *Digligy*, where they dwell and assemble and consult together about their affairs, which being the meeting place of such holy men, they call it a *Vihar*; also they admit none to come into their order but persons of the most noble birth, and that have learning and be well bred; of such they admit many. But they do not presently upon their admission arrive unto the high degree of a *Tirinanx*. For of these there are but three or four: and they are chose out of all the rest of the order unto this degree. These *Tirinanxes* only live in the *Vihar*, and enjoy great Revenues, and are as it were the *Superiors* of all the Priests, and are made by the King.

Many of the *Vehars* are endowed and have Farms belonging to them. And these *Tirinanxes* are the Landlords, unto whom the Tenants come at a certain time and pay in their Rents. These *Farmers* live the easiest of any people in the Land, for they have nothing to do but at those set times to bring in their dues and so depart, and to keep in repair certain little *Vehars* in the Countrey. So that the rest of the *Chingulais* envy them and say of them, *Though they live easy in this world, they cannot escape unpunished in the life to come for enjoying the* Buddou's *land and doing him so little service for it.*

The habit of these Priests.

All the rest of the order are called *Gonni*. The habit is the same to the whole order, both *Tirinanxes* and *Gonni*. It is a yellow coat gathered together about their waist, and comes over their left shoulder, girt about with a belt of fine pack-thread. Their heads are shaved, and they go bare-headed and carry in their hands a round fan with a wooden handle, which is to keep the sun off ther hands.

Their Priviledges.

They have great benefit and honour. They enjoy their own lands without paying *scot or lot* or any Taxes to the King. They are honoured in such a measure, that the people, where ever they go, bow down to them as they do to their Gods, but themselves bow to none. They have the honour of carrying the *Tallipot* with the broad end over their heads foremost; which none but the King does: Whereseever they come, they have a mat and a white cloth laid over upon a stool for them to sit upon; which is also an honour used only to the King.

What they are prohibited.

They are debarred from laying their hands to any manner of work; and may not marry nor touch women, nor eat but one meal a day, unless it be fruit and rice and water, that they may eat morning and evening: nor must they drink wine. They will eat any lawful flesh that is dressed for them, but they will have no hand in the death of it; as to give order or consent to the killing of it.

They may lay down their order, if they please; which some do, that they may marry. This is done by pulling off their coat, and flinging it into a River, and washing themselves head and body, and then they become like other lay-men.

When any is religiously disposed, these Priests sent for in great ceremony.

There is a benefit that accrueth to them, which is, when any man is minded to provide for his soul, they bring one of these Priests under a cloth held up by four men, unto his house, with drums and Pipes and great solemnity which only can be done unto the King besides. Then they give him great entertainment and bestows gifts on him according as they are able: which, after he hath tarried a day or more, they carry for him, and conduct him home with the like solemnities as

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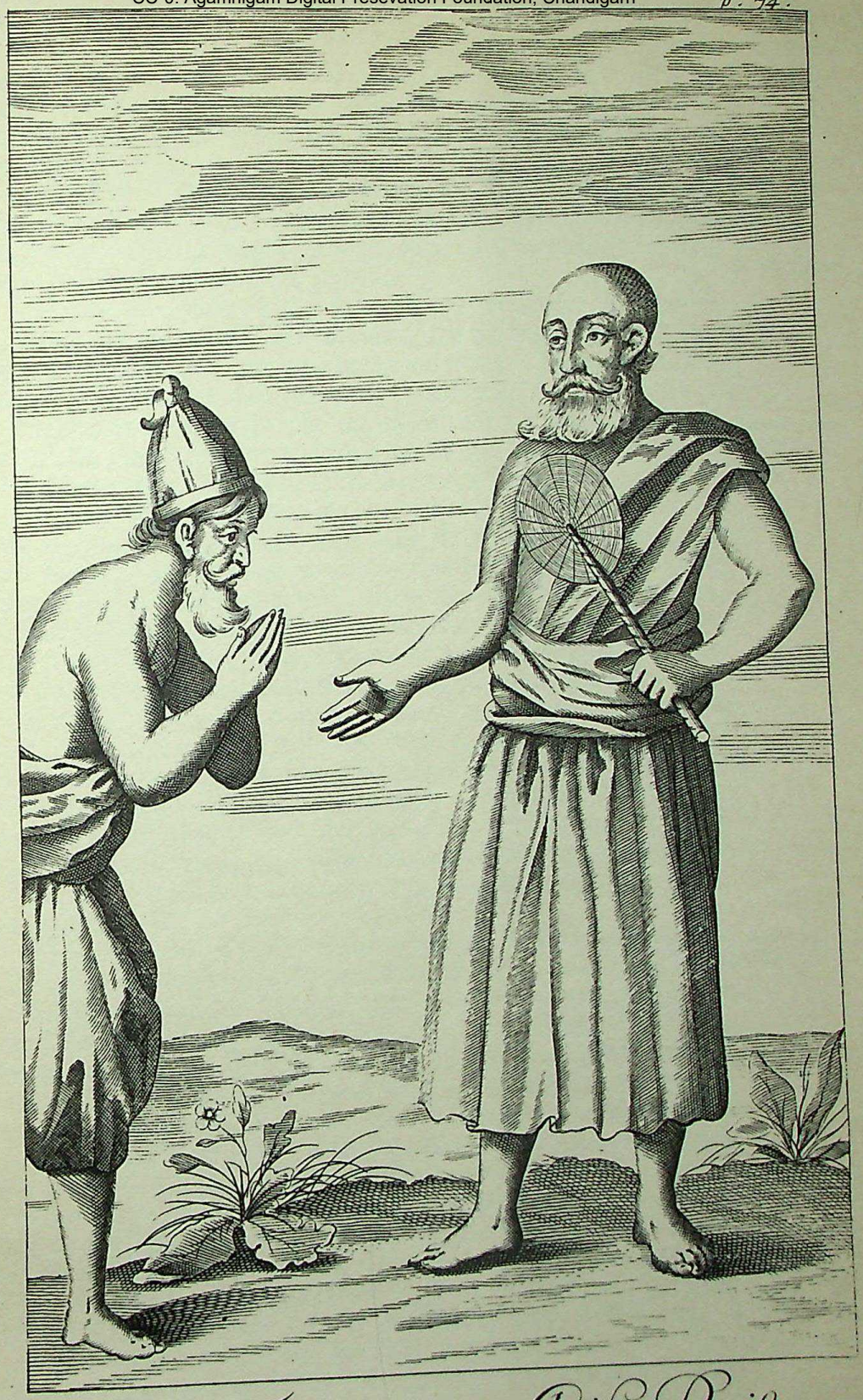

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he came. But the night that he tarries with them he must sing *Bonna*, that is matter concerning their Religion out of a Book made of the leaves of *Tallipot*: and then he tells them the meaning of what he sings, it being in an eloquent style which the Vulgar people do not understand. Chap. 6.

Some of these Priests, against whom the King took displeasure, were beheaded, afterwards cast into the River. Which thing caused amazement in all the people, how the King durst presume to do it towards such holy and reverend persons. None ever used violence towards them before the present King.

And none heretofore by any former Kings have ever been so served: being reputed and called *Sons of Boddou*. But the reason the King slew them was because they conspired in the Rebellion. They threw aside their *Habits*, and got their swords by their sides.

The second order of Priests are those called *Koppuhs*. Who are the Priests that belong to the Temples of the other Gods. Their Temples are called *Dewals*. These are not distinguished by any habit from the rest of the People, no, nor when they are at their worship; only they wear clean cloths, and wash themselves before they go to their service. These are taken out from among the *Hondrews*. They enjoy a piece of Land that belongs to the *Dewal* where they officiate, and that is all their benefit, unless they steal somewhat that is dedicated to the Gods. They follow their Husbandry and employments as other men do, but only when the times of worship are, which usually is every morning and evening, oftner or seldomer according as the Revenue will hold out, that belongs to that Temple, whereof each is Priest. The service is, that when the boyled rice and other victuals are brought to the Temple door by others, he takes it and presents it before the Idol. Whence, after it hath stood a while, he brings it out again, and then the drummers, pipers, and other servants that belong to the Temple, eat it. These Gods have never any flesh brought in sacrifice to them, but any thing else. The second order of their Priests.

The third order of Priests are the *Jaddeses*, Priests of the *Spirits*, which they call *Dayautaus*. Their Temples are called *Covels*, which are inferior to the other Temples, and have no revenues belonging to them. A man piously disposed, builds a small house at his own charge, which is the Temple, and himself becomes Priest thereof. Therein are Bills, and Swords, and Arrows, and Shields, and Images, painted upon the walls like fierce men. This house is seldom called *Gods* house, but most usually *Jacco*, the *Devils*. Upon some extradinary festival to the *Jacco*, the *Jaddese* shaves off all his beard. The third order.

When they are sick, they dedicate a *red Cock* to the Devil. Which they do after this manner. They send for the *Jaddese* to their house, and give him a *red Cock chicken*, which he takes up in his hand and holds an Arrow with it, and dedicates it to the God, by telling him that if he restore the party to his health, that Cock is given to him; and shall be dressed and sacrificed to him in his *Covel*. They then let the Cock go among the rest of the Poultry, and keep it afterwards, it may be, a year or two: and then they carry it to the Temple, or the Priest comes for it. For sometimes he will go round about, and fetch a great many Cocks together, that have been dedicated, telling the owners that he must make a sacrifice to the God; though it may be when he hath them, he will go to some other place How they dedicate a red Cock to the Devil.

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Part. III. and convert them into mony for his own uſe, as I my ſelf can witneſs. We could buy three of them for four pence half peny.

Whe n the people are minded to enquire any thing of their Gods, the Prieſts take up ſome of the Arms and Inſtruments of the Gods, that are in the Temples, upon his ſhoulder; and then he either fains himſelf to be mad, or really is ſo: which the people call *Piſſowetitch*; and then the ſpirit of the Gods is in him, and whatſoever he pronounceth, is looked upon as ſpoken by God himſelf, and the people will ſpeak to him, as if it were the very perſon of God.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning their Worſhip, and Feſtivals.

The chief days of worſhip.

Wedneſdays and *Saturdays* are the days, when people, who have any buſineſs with the Gods, come and addreſs themſelves; that is either to pray to their God for health, or for their help in ſome weighty matters, as in War &c. or to ſwear concerning any matter in controverſy, which is done before the Idols.

How they know what God or Devil hath made them ſick.

But one of their great and frequent buſineſſes with their Gods is for the Recovery of health. And that God or Devil that hath made them ſick, in his power only it is to reſtore them. Therefore when they feel themſelves ſick or ſore, firſt, they uſe means to know which God or Devil hath been the cauſe or author thereof. Which to find they uſe theſe means. With any little ſtick they make a bow, and on the ſtring thereof they hang a thing they have to cut *Betel-nuts*, ſomewhat like a pair of Sizzars; then holding the ſtick or Bow by both ends, they repeat the names of all both God and Devils: and when they come to him who hath afflicted them, then the Iron on the bow-ſtring will ſwing. They ſay by that ſign they know their ilneſs proceeds from the power of that God laſt named; but I think this happens by the power of the Hands that hold it. The God being thus found, to him chiefly they offer their oblations and ſacrifices.

The Gods of their fortunes.

There are nine *Deities*, which they call *Gerehah*, which are the *Planets* (reckoning in probably the *Dragons head* and *Tail.*) From whom proceed their *Fortunes*. Theſe they reckon ſo powerful, that if they be ill affected towards any party, neither God nor Devil can revoke it.

What worſhip they give the Planets.

When they are diſpoſed to worſhip theſe *Gerehah*, they make Images of Clay according to the number that ſtand diſaffected, towards them, which by certain Magick Tricks they know theſe Images, which are made by the Weavers, they paint of divers colours, of horrible and monſtrous ſhapes; ſome with long tusks like a Boar, ſome with hornes like a Bull, all in a moſt deformed manner, but ſomething reſembling the ſhape of a man. Before them they proſtrate Victuals, the ſick party ſitting all the while before them. Theſe ceremonies are always celebrated in the night with Drums and Pipes and dancing until almoſt day, and then they take theſe Images and caſt them out into the high ways to be trampled under foot: and the Victuals taken away and eaten by the attendants, and deſpicable people that wait there on purpoſe.

When

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Chap. 4.

When they worſhip thoſe whom they call *Devils*, many of whom they hold to be the Spirits of ſome that died heretofore, they make no Images for them, as they did for the *Planets*; but only build a new houſe in their yard, like a Barn very ſlight, covered only with leaves, and adorn it with Branches and Flowers. Into this Houſe they bring ſome of the Weapons or Inſtruments, which are in the Pagods or Temples, and place them on Stools at one end of the houſe, which is hanged with Cloth for that purpoſe, and before them on other Stools they lay Victuals: and all that time of the Sacrifice there is Drumming, Piping, Singing, and Dancing. Which being ended, they take the Victuals away, and give it to thoſe which Drum and Pipe, with other Beggars and Vagabonds; for only ſuch do eat of their Sacrifices; not that they do account ſuch things hallowed, and ſo dare not preſume to eat them, but contrariwiſe they are now looked upon as polluted meat. And if they ſhould attempt to eat thereof, it would be a reproach to them and their Generations.

What worſhip they give Devils.

Who eat the Sacrifices.

Theſe Spirits or Gods are *local*. For thoſe which they worſhip in one County or part of the Land, are not known or owned to have power over the People in other parts. But each Countrey hath ſeveral *Spirits* or *Devils*, that are peculiar to thoſe places, and do domineer over them, and are known by ſeveral names they call them by: under whoſe ſubjection the People do acknowledge themſelves to be: and, as I well perceive, do ſtand in a greater awe of them, than they do of them, whom they call and own to be their *Gods*.

Their Gods are local.

And indeed it is ſad to conſider, how this poor People are ſubjected to the *Devil*, and they themſelves acknowledge it their miſery, ſaying their Countrey is ſo full of Devils, and evil Spirits, that unleſs in this manner they ſhould adore them, they would be deſtroyed by them. *Chriſtians* they do acknowledge have a Prerogative above themſelves, and not to be under the Power of theſe *infernal Spirits*.

The ſubjection of this People to the Devil.

I have many times ſeen Men and Women of this People ſtrangely poſſeſt, inſomuch that I could judge it nothing elſe but the effect of the Devil's power upon them: and they themſelves do acknowledge as much. In the like condition to which I never ſaw any that did profeſs to be a worſhipper of the Holy Name of JESUS. They that are thus poſſeſt, ſome of them will run mad into the Woods, ſcreeching and roaring, but do miſchief to none; ſome will be taken ſo as to be ſpeechleſs, ſhaking, and quaking, and dancing, and will tread upon the fire and not be hurt; they will alſo talk idle, like diſtracted folk.

Sometimes the Devil poſſeſſes them.

This may laſt ſometimes two or three Months, ſometimes two or three dayes. Now their Friends reckoning it to proceed from the Devil, do go to him and promiſe him a reward if he will cure them. Sometimes they are cured, and ſometimes die. The People do impute this madneſs to ſome breach of promiſe that the Party affected had made to the Devil, or elſe for eating ſome fruit or Betel-leaves dedicated to him: For they do dedicate ſome fruit-trees to the Devil; and this they do, to prevent People from ſtealing them (which few will dare to do after ſuch a Dedication) and alſo to excuſe themſelves in not beſtowing their fruit upon any that might ask or deſire it. But before this dedicated fruit is lawful for them to uſe they muſt carry ſome of it to the Temple.

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Part III.

The Devil's Voice often heard.

This for certain I can affirm, That oftentimes the Devil doth cry with an audible Voice in the Night; 'tis very shrill almost like the barking of a Dog. This I have often heard my self; but never heard that he did any body any harm. Only this observation the Inhabitants of the Land have made of this Voice, and I have made it also, that either just before or very suddenly after this Voice, the King always cuts off People. To believe that this is the Voice of the Devil these reasons urge, because there is no Creature known to the Inhabitants, that cry like it, and because it will on a sudden depart from one place, and make a noise in another, quicker than any fowl could fly: and because the very Dogs will tremble and shake when they hear it; and 'tis so accounted by all the People.

This Voice is heard only in *Cande Uda*, and never in the Low Lands. When the Voice is near to a *Chingulaye*'s house, he will curse the Devil, calling him *Geremoi goulammah, Beef-eating Slave be gone, be damned, cut his Nose off, beat him a pieces.* And such like words of Railery, and this they will speak aloud with noise, and passion, and threatning. This Language I have heard them bestow upon the Voice; and the Voice upon this always ceaseth for a while, and seems to depart, being heard at a greater distance.

Their Sacrifice to the chief Devil.

When *smaller* Devils do fail them, they repair unto the *great* one. Which they do after this manner. They prepare an Offering of Victuals ready dressed; one dish whereof is always a *red Cock.* Which they do as frequently offer to the Devil, as *Papists* do Wax-Candles to *Saints.* This Offering they carry out into a remote place in the Woods, and prostrate it to the honour and service of the *Grand Devil,* before which there are men in an horrible disguise like Devils, with Bells about their Legs and Doublets of a strange fashion, dancing and singing, to call, if it were possible, the Devil himself to come and eat of the Sacrifices they have brought; the sick Party is all the while present.

Their Festivals.

I have hitherto spoke of their *ordinary* and *daily Worship,* and their *private* and *occasional Devotions*; besides these they have their *solemn* and *annual Festivals.* Now of these there are two sorts, some belonging to their Gods that govern the Earth, and all things referring to this life; and some belonging to the *Buddou,* whose Province is to take care of the Soul and future well-being of Men.

Festivals to the honour of the Gods that govern this World.

The great Festival in *June.*

I shall first mention the *Festivals* of the former sort. They are *two* or *three.* That they may therefore honour these Gods, and procure their aid and assistance, they do yearly in the Month of *June* or *July,* at a *New Moon,* observe a solemn Feast and general Meeting, called *Perahar*; but none are compelled, and some go to one *Pagoda,* and some to another. The greatest Solemnity is performed in the City of *Cande*; but at the same time the like Festival or *Perahar* is observed in divers other Cities and Towns of the Land. The *Perahar* at *Cande* is ordered after this manner.

The Priest bringeth forth a *painted stick*, about which strings of Flowers are hanged, and so it is wrapped in branched Silk, some part covered, and some not; before which the People bow down and worship; each one presenting him with an Offering according to his free will. These free-will Offerings being received from the People, the Priest takes his painted stick on his Shoulder, having a Cloth tied about his

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his mouth to keep his breath from defiling this pure piece of Wood, and gets up upon an Elephant all covered with white Cloth, upon which he rides with all the Triumph that King and Kingdom can afford, thro all the Streets of the City. But before him go, first some Forty or Fifty Elephants, with brass-Bells hanging on each side of them, which tingle as they go. Chap. 4

Next, follow men dressed up like *Gyants*, which go dancing along agreeable to a Tradition they have, that anciently there were huge men, that could carry vast Burthens, and pull up Trees by the Roots. *&c.* After them go a great multitude of Drummers, and Trumpetters, and Pipers, which make such a great and loud noise, that nothing else besides them can be heard. Then followeth a Company of Men dancing along, and after these Women of such *Casts* or Trades as are necessary for the service of the *Pagoda*, as *Potters* and *Washer-women*, each *cast* goeth in Companies by themselves, three and three in a row, holding one another by the hand; and between each Company go Drummers, Pipers and Dancers.

After these comes an Elephant with two Priests on his back: one whereof is the Priest before spoken of, carrying the painted stick on his Shoulder, who represents *Allout neur Dio*, that is, the *God and Maker of Heaven and Earth.* The other sits behind him, holding a round thing, like an *Umbrello*, over his head, to keep off Sun or Rain. Then within a yard after him on each hand of him follow two other Elephants mounted with two other Priests, with a Priest sitting behind each, holding *Umbrello*'s as the former, one of them represents *Cotteragom Dio*, and the other *Potting Dio.* These three Gods that ride here in Company are accounted of all other the greatest and chiefest, each one having his residence in a several *Pagoda.*

Behind go their *Cook-women*, with things like whisks in their hands to scare away flies from them; but very fine as they can make themselves.

Next after the Gods and their Attendance, go some Thousands of Ladies and Gentlewomen, such as are of the best sort of the Inhabitants of the Land, arrayed in the bravest manner that their Ability can afford, and so go hand in hand three in a row: At which time all the Beauties on *Zelone* in their Bravery do go to attend upon their Gods in their Progress about the City. Now are the Streets also all made clean, and on both sides all along the Streets Poles stuck up with Flags and Pennons hanging at the tops of them, and adorned with boughs and branches of Coker Nut-Trees hanging like Fringes, and lighted Lamps all along on both sides of the Streets, both by day and night.

Last of all, go the Commanders sent from the King to see these Ceremonies decently performed, with their Soldiers after them. And in this manner they ride all round about the City once by day and once by night. This Festival lasts from the *New* Moon until the *Full* Moon.

Formerly the King himself in Person used to ride on Horseback with all his Train before him in this Solemnity, but now he delights not in these *Shows.*

Always before the Gods set out to take their Progress, they are set in the *Pagoda*-Door, a good while, that the People may come to worship

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Part III. worship and bring their Offerings unto them; during which time there are Dancers, playing and shewing many pretty Tricks of Activity before him. To see the which, and also to shew themselves in their Bravery, occasions more People to resort hither, than otherwise their Zeal and Devotion would prompt them to do.

Two or thee days before the Full Moon, each of these Gods hath a *Pallenkine* carried after them to add unto their honour. In the which there are several pieces of their *superstitious relicts*, and a Silver Pot. Which just, at the hour of Full Moon they ride out unto a River, and dip full of water, which is carried back with them into the Temple, where it is kept till the year after and then flung away. And so the Ceremony is ended for that year.

This Festival of the Gods taking their Progress thro the City, in the year 1664. the King would not permit to be performed; and that same year the *Rebellion* happened, but never since hath he hindred it.

At this time they have a *Superstition*, which lasteth six or seven days, too foolish to write; it consists in Dancing, Singing, and Jugling. The reason of which is, lest the eyes of the People, or the Power of the *Jacco's*, or Infernal Spirits, might any ways prove prejudicial or noisom to theaforesaid Gods in their Progress abroad. During the Celebration of this great Festival, there are no Drums allowed to be beaten to any particular Gods at any private Sacrifice.

The Feast in *November.*

In the Month of *November* the Night when the Moon is at the Full, there is another great solemn Feast, called in their Language *Cawtha Poujah.* Which is celebrated only by lighting of Lamps round about the *Pogada.* At which time they stick up the longest Poles they can get in the Woods, at the Doors of the *Pagods* and of the King's Palace. Upon which they make contrivances to set Lamps in rows one above the other, even unto the very tops of the Poles, which they call *Tor-nes.* To maintain the charge hereof, all the Countrey in general do contribute, and bring in Oil. In this *Poujah* or Sacrifice the King seems to take delight. The reason of which may be, because he participates far more of the Honour, than the Gods do, in whose name it is celebrated; his Palace being far more decked and adorned with high Poles and Lights, than the Temples are. This Ceremony lasteth but for one Night.

The Festival in honour of the God of the Soul.

And these are their *Anniversary Feasts* to the honour of those Gods, whose power extends to help them in this Life; now follows the manner of their Service to the *Buddou,* who it is, they say, that must save their Souls, and the *Festival* in honour of him.

To represent the memorial of him to their eye, they do make small Images of Silver, Brass, and Clay, and Stone, which they do honour with Sacrifices and Worship, shewing all the signs of outward reverence which possibly they can. In most places where there are hollow Rocks and Caves, they do set up Images in memorial of this God. Unto which they that are devoutly bent, at *New* and *Full* Moons do carry Victuals, and worship.

His great *Festival* is in the Month of *March* at their New-years Tide. The Places where he is commemorated are two, not Temples, but the one a *Mountain* and the other a *Tree*; either to the one or the other, they at this time go with Wives and Children, for Dignity and Merit one being esteemed equal with the other.

The

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The *Mountain* is at the *South* end of the Countrey, called *Hammalella*, but by Christian People, *Adam's Peak*, the highest in the whole Island; where, as has been said before, is the Print of the *Buddou's* foot, which he left on the top of that Mountain in a Rock, from whence he ascended to Heaven. Unto this *footstep* they give worship, light up Lamps, and offer Sacrifices, laying them upon it, as upon an Altar. The benefit of the Sacrifices that are offered here do belong unto the *Moors Pilgrims*, who come over from the other Coast to beg, this having been given them heretofore by a former King. So that at that season there are great numbers of them always waiting there to receive their accustomed Fees. Chap. 4.

The *Tree* is at the *North* end of the King's Dominions at *Annarodgburro*. This *Tree*, they say, came flying over from the other Coast, and there planted it self, as it now stands, under which the *Buddou-God* at his being on earth used, as they say, often to sit. This is now become a place of solemn worship, The due performance whereof they reckon not to be a little meritorious: insomuch that, as they report, Ninety Kings have since reigned there successively, where by the ruins that still remain, it appears they spared not for pains and labour to build Temples and high Monuments to the honour of this God, as if they had been born only to hew Rocks, and great Stones, and lay them up in heaps. These Kings are now happy Spirits, having merited it by these their labours.

Those whose Ability or Necessity serve them not to go to these Places, may go to some private *Vihars* nearer.

The high honour they have for this God.

For this God above all other, they seem to have an high respect and Devotion; as will appear by this that follows. Ladies and Gentlewomen of good Quality, will sometimes in a Fit of Devotion to the *Buddou*, go a begging for him. The greatest Ladies of all do not indeed go themselves, but send their Maids dressed up finely in their stead. These Women taking the Image along with them, carry it upon the palms of their hand covered with a piece of white Cloth; and so go to mens houses, and will say, *We come a begging of your Charity for the Buddou towards his Sacrifice.* And the People are very liberal. They give only of three things to him, either *Oyl* for his Lamps, or *Rice* for his Sacrifice, or *Money* or *Cotton Yarn* for his use.

Poor men will often go about begging Sustenance for themselves by this means: They will get a Book of Religion, or a *Buddou's* Image in a Case, wrapping both in a white Cloth, which they carry with great reverence. And then they beg in the name of the Book or the God. And the People bow down to them, and give their Charity, either Corn, or Money, or Cotton yarn. Sometimes they will tell the Beggar, *What have I to give?* And he will reply, *as the saying is, as much as you can take up between your two fingers is Charity.* After he has received a gift from any, he pronounceth a great deal of blessing upon him, *Let the blessing of the Gods and the* Buddou *go along with you; let your Corn ripen, let your Cattle increase, let your Life be long*, &c.

Some being devoutly disposed, will make the Image of this God at their own charge. For the making whereof they must bountifully reward the Founder. Before the *Eyes* are made, it is not accounted a

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Part. III. God, but a lump of ordinary Metal, and thrown about the Shop with no more regard than any thing elſe. But when the *Eyes* are to be made, the Artificer is to have a good gratification, beſides the firſt agreed upon reward. The *Eyes* being formed, it is thenceforward a *God*. And then, being brought with honour from the Workman's Shop, it is dedicated by Solemnities and Sacrifices, and carried with great ſtate into its ſhrine or little houſe, which is before built and prepared for it.

Sometimes a man will order the *Smith* to make this Idol, and then after it is made will go about with it to well-diſpoſed People to contribute toward the Wages the Smith is to have for making it. And men will freely give towards the charge. And this is looked upon in the man that appointed the Image to be made, as a notable piece of Devotion.

I have mentioned the *Bogahah Tree* before, which in memory of this God they hold Sacred, and perform Sacrifices, and celebrate Religious Meetings under. Under this Tree at ſome convenient diſtance about ten or twelve foot at the outmoſt edge of the Platform, they uſually build Booths or Tents; ſome are made ſlight only with leaves for the preſent uſe, but ſome are built ſubſtantial with hewn Timber and Clay Walls, which ſtand many years. Theſe Buildings are divided into ſmall Tenements for each particular Family. The whole Town joyns, and each man builds his own Appartment: ſo that the Building goes quite round like a circle, only one gap is left, which is to paſs thro to the *Bogahah Tree*: and this gap is built over with a kind of Portal. The uſe of theſe Buildings is for the entertainment of the Women. Who take great delight to come and ſee theſe Ceremonies, clad in their beſt and richeſt Apparel. They employ themſelves in ſeeing the Dancers, and the Juglers do their Tricks: who afterwards by their importunity will get Money of them, or a Ring off their Fingers, or ſome ſuch matters. Here alſo they ſpend their time in eating *Betel*, and in talking with their Conſorts, and ſhewing their fine Cloths. Theſe Solemnities are always in the Night, the Booths all ſet round with Lamps; nor are they ended in one Night, but laſt three or four, until the Full Moon, which always puts a Period to them.

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CHAP. V.

Concerning their Religions Doctrines, Opinions, and Practices.

As to their Religion they are very indifferent.

THere are few or none *zealous* in their worship, or have any great matter of esteem for their Gods. And they seldom busie themselves in the matters of their Religion, until they come to be sick or very aged. They debar none that will come to see the Ceremonies of their worship; and if a stranger should dislike their way, reprove or mock at them for their Ignorance and Folly, they would acknowledge the same, and laugh at the superstitions of their own Devotion, but withall tell you that they are constrained to do what they do, to keep themselves safe from the malice and mischiefs that the *evil spirits* would otherwise do them, *with which*, they say, *their Country swarm.*

If their Gods answer not their desires, they Curse them.

Sometimes in their Sickness they go to the House of their Gods with an Offering, with which they present him, intreating his favour and aid to restore them to health. Upon the recovery whereof they promise him not to fail but to give unto His *Majesty* (for so they entitle him) far greater Gifts or Rewards, and what they are, they do particularly mention; it may be, *Land, a Slave, Cattle, Money, Cloth*, &c. and so they will discourse, argue and expostulate with him, as if he were there present in Person before them. If after this, he fails on his part, and cannot restore them to their health, then the fore-promised things are to remain where they were: and instead of which perhaps he gets a Curse, saying, *He doth but cheat and deceive them.*

They undervalue and revile their Gods.

It is a usual saying, and very frequent among them (if their *Gerahah*, which is their *fortune*, be bad) *What can God do against it:* Nay, I have often heard them say, *Give him no Sacrifice, but shit in his Mouth, what a God is He?* So slight an estimation have they of their *Idol-Gods*; and the King far less esteems them. For he doth not in the least give any countenance either to the *Worshipper*, or to the *manner* of worship. And *God*'s name be magnified, that hath not suffered him to disturb or molest the *Christians* in the least in their Religion, or ever attempt to force them to comply with the Countreys Idolatry. But on the contrary, both King and People do generally like the *Christian* Religion better than their own: and respect and honour the Christians as *Christians*; and do believe there is a greater God than any they adore. And in all probability they would be very easily drawn to the *Christian* or any other Religion: as will appear by this story following.

A fellow gives out himself for a Prophet.

There was lately one among them that pretended himself a *Prophet* sent to them from a *new God*, that as yet was nameless. At which the People were amused, especially because he pretended to heal the Sick, and do Miracles: and presently he was had in high veneration. He gave out it was the command of the new *nameless God* to spoil and pull down the *Dewals*, that is, the Temples of the former Gods. This he made a good progress in, with no let or impediment from King or People. The King all this while inclined neither to one or other, as not regarding such matters, until he might see which of these Gods would prevail, the old or the new. For this People stand in fear of all that

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Part. III.

His Success.

are called *Gods*; and this especially surprized them, because without a *Name*; so contrary to all their old ones, who have *Names*. This *new-found God* therefore went on boldly and successfully without controul: the People all in general began to admire him thus come among them. And great troops of People daily assembled thither with Sacrifices, and to worship him. Whereby seeing their inclination so strong towards him, he began to perceive it was not only possible, but also easie and probable to change his *Priesthood* for a *Kingdom*.

The King sends for one of his Priests.

At which time, whether the King began to suspect or not, I cannot say; but he sent for one of his Priests to be brought up to the Court. For this God had his residence in the Countrey at *Vealbow* in *Hotcourly*, somewhat remote from the King. This Priest having remained at the City some days, the King took a Ring from off his Finger, and put it in an *Ivory* Box, and sent it by three of his great Men to him, bidding him to enquire of his *nameless God* what it was that was therein; which amazed this Priest; but he returned this subtil answer, that he was not sent to *divine*, but to *heal* the Diseases and help the Infirmities of the People. Upon which the King gave Command to take him and put him in the Stocks under a Tree, there to be wet with the Rain, and dry again with the Sun. Which was executed upon him accordingly.

Flies to *Columba*, pretends himself to be a former King's Son.

The Chief Priest, who was the first Inventor of this *new God*, hearing what the King had done, and fearing what might follow, suddenly dispatched, and carried all what he had plundered out of the *Pagods* with him to *Columba*, and stole one of the King's Elephants to carry it upon. Where being arrived, he declares himself to be Son of the King of *Mautoly*; who was elder Brother to this King that now is, and for fear of whom he fled to *Columba*; being at that time when the *Portugals* had it, who sent him to *Goa*, where he died.

Flies from the *Dutch*.

This being noised abroad that he was a *Prince*, made the People flock faster to him than before. Which changed both his heart and behaviour from a *Priest* to a *King*. Insomuch that the *Dutch* began to be in doubt what this might grow to. Who to prevent the worst, set a watch over him: which he not liking of, took the advantage of the night, and fled with all his Followers and Attendance up to the King again, and came to the same place where he lay before.

The King catches and quarters him.

No sooner had the King notice of his arrival, but immediately he dispatched five of his greatest Commanders with their Soldiers to catch him, and to bring him up to him. Which they did, laying both him and all his followers in Chains. The King commanded to keep him in a certain *Pagoda* of the *Chingulayes*, until the matter were examined, the People in general much lamenting him, tho not able to help. The chief of their *Church-men*, viz. their *Gonni-nancies*, were all commanded to make their Personal appearance at Court. Which all thought was to see the *Prince* or *Priest*, should have a legal Trial. But in the mean time, the King commanded to cut him in four quarters, and hang them in places, which he appointed. Which was done.

The Peoples opinion still of this new God.

Nevertheless the Vulgar People to this day do honour and adore the *name* & memorial of the *nameless God*. With which if he could have been content, and not have gone about to usurp the Crown, the King so little regarding Religion, he might have lived to dye a natural death.

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Chap. 5.
Their Doctrine and Opinions.

Theſe people do firmly believe a *reſurrection* of the body, and the *Immortality* of Souls, and a *future State*. Upon which account they will worſhip their *Anceſtors*. They do beleive that thoſe they call *Gods* are the ſpirits of men that formerly have lived upon the earth. They hold that in the other world, thoſe that are good men tho they be poor and mean in this world, yet there they ſhall become high and eminent; and that *wicked men* ſhall be turned into *beaſts*. There is a *Spider* among them, that breeds an Egg, which ſhe carries under her belly, 'tis as wide as a *groat*, and bigger then the body of the *Spider*. This egg is full of young *Spiders* that breed there: it hangs under her belly whereſoever ſhe goes: and as their young ones grow to bigneſs they eat up the old one. Now the *Chingulayes* ſay, that diſobedient children ſhall become *Spiders* in the other world, and their young ones ſhall eat them up.

They hold that every mans good or bad Fortune was predetermined by God, before he was born, according to an uſual *Proverb* they have, *Ollua cottaula tiana, It is written in the head.*

The higheſt points of Devotion.

They reckon the chief poynts of *goodneſs* to conſiſt in giving to the Prieſts, in making *Pudgiahs, ſacrifices* to their Gods, in forbearing ſhedding the blood of any creature: which to do they call *Pau boi*, a *great ſin*: and in abſtaining from eating any fleſh at all, becauſe they would not have any hand, or any thing to do in killing any living thing. They reckon *Herbs* and *Plants* more innocent food. It is religion alſo to ſweep under the *Bogaha* or *God-Tree*, and keep it clean. It is accounted religion to be *juſt* and *ſober* and *chaſt* and *true*, and to be endowed with other vertues, as we do account it.

Their Charity.

They give to the poor out of a Principle of *Charity*, which they extend to forraigners, as well as to their own Country-men. But of every meaſure of rice they boyl in their houſes for their families they will take out an handful, as much as they can gripe, and put into a bag, and keep it by it ſelf, which they call *Mitta-haul*. And this they give and diſtribute to ſuch poor as they pleaſe, or as come to their doors.

The Priviledg of the *Mooriſh* Beggars.

Nor are they charitable only to the poor of their own Nation, but as I ſaid to others: and particularly to the *Mooriſh* beggars, who are *Mahometans* by religion. Theſe have a Temple in *Cande*. A certain former king gave this Temple this Priviledg, that every Free-holder ſhould contribute a *Ponnam* to it. And theſe *Moors* go to every houſe in the land to receive it. And if the houſe be ſhut, they have power to break it open, and to take out of goods to the value of it. They come very confidently when they beg, and they ſay *they come to fulfill the peoples charity*. And the people do liberrally releive them for charity ſake.

There is only one County in the Land, *viz. Dolusbaug*, that pays not the aforeſaid duty to the *Moors* Temple. And the reaſon is, that when they came firſt thither to demand it, the Inhabitants beat them away. For which act they are free from the payment of that *Ponnam*, and have alſo another priviledg granted them for the ſame, That they pay no *Marral*, or *Harriots*, to the King as other Countreys do.

Theſe *Moors* Pilgrims have many pieces of Land given them by well diſpoſed perſons out of charity, where they build houſes and live. And this land becomes theirs from generation to generation for ever.

They

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Part III.

They respect Christians, and why.

They lay Flowers, out of religion, before their Images every morning and evening, for which Images they build little Chappels in their yards as we said before. They carry *beads* in their hands on strings, and say so many prayers as they go. Which custom in all probability they borrowed of the *Portugueze*. They love a man that makes conscience of his ways. Which makes them respect *Christians* more than any others, because they think they are *just* and will not *lye*. And thus we have finished our discourse of their *Religion*.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning their Houses, Diet, Housewifry, Salutation, Apparel.

HAving already treated of their *Religion*, we now come to their *secular concerns*. And first we will lead you into their *houses*, and shew you how they live.

Their houses.

Their *Houses* are small, low, thatched Cottages, built with sticks, daubed with clay, the walls made very smooth. For they are not permitted to build their houses above one story high, neither may they cover with tiles, nor whiten their walls with lime, but there is a *Clay* which is as white, and that they use sometimes. They employ no *Carpenters*, or house-builders, unless some few noble-men, but each one buildeth his own dwelling. In building whereof there is not so much as a nail used; but instead of them every thing which might be nailed, is tyed with *rattans* and other strings, which grow in the woods in abundance; whence the builder hath his Timber for cutting. The Country being warm, many of them will not take pains to clay their walls, but make them of boughs and leaves of Trees. The poorest sort have not above one room in their houses, few above two, unless they be great men. Neither doth the King allow them to build better.

No Chimneys.

They are not nice nor curious in their houses. They have no Chimneys in them, but make their fires in one corner, so that the roof is all blacked with the smoak.

The houses of the better sort.

The great people have handsom and commodious houses. They have commonly two buildings one opposit to the other, joined together on each side with a wall, which makes a square *Court-yard* in the middle. Round about against the walls of their houses are banks of clay to sit on; which they often daub over with soft *Cow-dung*, to keep them smooth and clean. Their Slaves and Servants dwell round about without in other houses with their wives and children.

Their Furniture.

Their *Furniture* is but small. A few earthen pots which hang up in slings made of Canes in the middle of their houses, having no shelves; one or two brass Basons to eat in, a stool or two without backs. For none but the King may sit upon a stool with a back. There are also some baskets to put corn in, some mats to spread upon the ground to sleep on: which is the bedding both for themselves and friends when they come to their houses. Also some *Ebeny* pestels about four foot long to beat rice out of the husk, and a wooden *Mor-*

ter

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The Manner of
their Eating and Drinking.

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ter to beat it in afterwards to make it white, a *Hirimony* or *Grater* to grate their *Coker-nuts* with, a flat ſtone upon which they grind their *Pepper* and *Turmeric*, &c. With another ſtone which they hold in their hands at the ſame time. They have alſo in their houſes *Axes*, *Bills*, *Houghs*, *Atches*, *Chiſſels*, and other *Tools* for their uſe. *Tables* they have none, but ſit and eat on the ground. Chap. 6.

How they eat.

And now we are mentioning *eating*, let us take a view of this people at their *meals*. Their Dyet and ordinary fare is but very mean, as to our account. If they have but Rice and Salt in their houſe, they reckon they want for nothing. For with a few green Leaves and the juice of a *Lemmon* with Pepper and Salt, they will make a hearty meal. *Beef* here may not be eaten; it is abominable: *Fleſh* and *Fiſh* is ſomewhat ſcarce. And that little of it they have, they had rather ſell to get mony to keep, then eat it themſelves: neither is there any but outlandiſh men, that will buy any of them. It is they indeed do eat the fat and beſt of the Land. Nor is it counted any ſhame or diſgrace, to be a niggard and ſparing in dyet; but rather a credit even to the greateſt of them, that they can fare hard and ſuffer hunger, which they ſay, Soldiers ought to be able to endure.

How the great men eat.

The great ones have always five or ſix ſorts of food at one meal, and of them not above one or two at moſt of Fleſh or Fiſh, and of them more pottage than meat, after the *Portugal* faſhion. The reſt is only what groweth out of the ground. The main ſubſtance with which they fill their bellies is Rice, the other things are but to give it a reliſh.

Diſcouraged from nouriſhing Cattel.

If theſe people were not diſcouraged from rearing and nouriſhing of Cattle and Poultry, proviſions might be far more plentiful. For here are many *Jackalls*, which catch their *Hens* and ſome *Tigres*, that deſtroy their Cattle: but the greateſt of all is the King; whoſe endeavour is to keep them poor and in want. For from them that have *Hens* his Officers take them for the Kings uſe giving little or nothing for them; the like they do by *Hogs*. *Goats* none are ſuffered to keep, beſides the King, except ſtrangers.

Cleanly in dreſſing their meet.

In *dreſſing* of their victuals they are not to be diſcommended: for generally they are cleanly and very handy about the ſame. And after one is uſed to that kind of fare, as they dreſs it, it is very ſavoury and good. They ſit upon a mat on the ground, and eat. But he, whom they do honour and reſpect, ſits on a ſtool and his victuals on another before him.

Their drink and manner of eating.

Their common *drink* is only water: and if they drink *Rack*, it is before they eat, that it may have the more operation upon their bodies. When they drink they touch not the Pot with their mouths, but hold it at a diſtance, and pour it in. They eat their Rice out of *China diſhes*, or Braſs Baſons, and they that have not them, on leaves. The *Carrees*, or other ſorts of Food which they eat with their Rice, is kept in the Pans it is dreſſed in, and their wives ſerve them with it, when they call for it. For it is their duties to wait and ſerve their Husbands while they eat, and when they have done, then to take and eat that which they have left upon their Trenchers. During their eating they neither uſe nor delight to talk to one another.

Their manner of waſhing before and after meals.

They always waſh their hands and mouths both before and after they have eaten; but for others to pour the water on their hands is looked upon as an affront. For ſo they do to them, whom they account

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Part III. count not worthy to handle their Water pot. But when they waſh, with one hand they pour it themſelves upon the other. They are very cleanly both in their bodies and heads, which they do very often waſh, and alſo when they have been at ſtool they make uſe of water.

None muſt ſpeak while the Rice is put into the Pot.

But to give you a little of their *Cookery*. If People be in the room talking together, the woman being ready to put the Rice into the Pot, bids them all be ſilent till ſhe has put it in, and then they may procede with their diſcourſe. For if they ſhould talk while the Rice is putting in, it would not ſwell.

Sawce made of *Lemmon* juyce.

At the time of the year that there is moſt plenty of *Lemmons*, they take them and ſqueez the juyce into an earthen Pot, and ſet over the fire, and boil it ſo long, till it becomes thick and black like *Tar*. This they ſet by for their uſe, and it will keep as long as they pleaſe. A very ſmall quantity of it will ſuffice for ſawce. They call it *Annego*.

Their ſweet meats.

They have ſeveral ſorts of *ſweet-meats*. One they call *Caown*. It is like to a *Fritter* made of *Rice-flower*, and *Jaggory*. They make them up in little lumps, and lay them upon a Leaf, and then preſs them with their thumbs, and put them into a Frying-Pan, and fry them in Coker-nut Oyl or Butter. When the *Dutch* came firſt to *Columba*, the King ordered theſe *Caown* to be made and ſent to them as a royal Treat. And they ſay, the *Dutch* did ſo admire them, that they asked if they grew not upon Trees, ſuppoſing it paſt the Art of man to make ſuch dainties.

Oggulas another ſort of ſweet-meats, made of parched *Rice*, *Jaggory*, *Pepper*, *Cardamum*, and a little *Cinnamons*. They rowl them up in Balls, which will grow hard. Theſe they tie up in bags and carry them with them when they travail to eat in afternoons when they are hungry.

Alloways, made much after the former manner, only they are flat in the faſhion of a *Lozenge*; which are good for faintings and thirſty ſouls to reliſh their water, and to eat of in afternoons when they are at home. We carried ſome of theſe along with us in our travayl.

A kind of Puddings.

Tacpetties, made of *Rice-flower*, and the meat of the *Coker-nut* and *Jaggory*. They are made up into ſmall lumps, and ſo put in a Leaf, and laid on a cloth over a Pot of boyling water. The ſtream of which heats that which is laid upon it: and ſo they are ſodden like a Pudding. They taſt like white bread, *Almonds* and *Sugar*.

Pitu. Which is made thus. They take flower of *Coracan*, and ſprinkle a little water into it, being both put into a large Pot for the purpoſe. Then they ſtir and rowl it in the Pot with their hands: by which means it crumbles into corns like Gun-Powder. Then they have a Pot of boyling water with a cloth tyed over it; and upon this cloth they lay ſo much of this corn flower as they can conveniently cover with another Pot. And ſo the ſteam coming through the cloth boils it, that it will be much like unto a Pudding. And this they uſe to eat as they do Rice.

The Womens Houſwifry.

The womens *Houſewifry* is to beat the Rice out of the husk; which they do with an *Ebeny Peſtle* before mentioned. They lay the Rice on the ground, and then beat it, one blow with one hand, and then toſſing the Peſtle into the other, to ſtrike with that. And at the ſame time they keep ſtroke with their feet (as if they were dancing) to keep up the Corn together in one heap. This being done, they beat it again

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A Noble Man.

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gain in a wooden Morter to whiten it, as was ſaid before. This work tho it be very hard, belongeth only to the women: as alſo to fetch both wood and water. The wood they bring upon their heads, the water in an earthen Pot, placing it upon their hip. To the women alſo belongs a ſmall bill to cut *Herbs*, *Pumkins* &c. Which ſhe is to dreſs. Which bill ſhe lays upon the ground, the edg upwards, and ſets her ſelf upon a Staff or handle to hold it faſt, and what ſhe meaneth to cut, ſhe lays it upon the edge, and ſhoveth it on it. Chap. 6.

When one comes to anothers houſe, being ſet down the *Entertainment* is, *green Leaves*, they call *Bullat*, which they eat raw with *Lime* and *Betel-nut*, and *Tobacco*. And being ſet a while, the man of the houſe will ask the Stranger what he comes for, which if he does not ſuddenly, the Stranger will take exceptions at it, as thinking he is not welcom to him. Neither do they ever go one to viſit the other, unleſs it be for their own ends, either to beg or borrow. How they entertain ſtrangers,

And if Kindred, that are very nearly related come together, they have no loving or private conference one with the other, but ſit like ſtrangers very ſolid and grave. And if they ſtay above one night, which is the common cuſtom, then they do help and aſſiſt the man of the houſe in any work or ſervice he hath to do. And Kinred.

When any friends go to anothers houſe to viſit, they never go empty handed, but carry proviſions and ſweat meats with them to their friend. And then he makes them a *Feaſt* according to his ability, but they never eat of thoſe things, which themſelves brought. But there is but little feaſting among them unleſs at a Wedding. When they viſit.

We have been long enough in the houſe, let us walk abroad, and ſhow you how the People demean themſelves without doors.

When they meet one another, their manner of *Salutation* or obeiſance is, to hold forth their two hands, the Palms upwards, and bow their Bodies: but the ſuperior to the inferior holds forth but one hand, and if the other be much beneath, him he only nods his head. The women ſalute by holding up both their hands edgways to their Foreheads. The general complement one to another at firſt meeting is to ſay *Ay*; it ſignifies *how do you*: and the other anſwers, *Hundoi*, that is, *well*. Their manner of Salutations.

The *Habit* of the men when they appear abroad is after this ſort. The Nobles wear Doublets of white or blew *Callico*, and about their middle a cloth, a *white* one next their skin, and a *blew* one or of ſome other colour or painted, over the white: a blew or red *ſhaſh* girt about their loyns, and a Knife with a carved handle wrought or inlaid with Silver ſticking in their boſom; and a compleat ſhort Hanger carved and inlaid with Braſs and Silver by their ſides, the Scabbard moſt part covered with Silver, bravely ingraven; a painted Cane and ſometimes a Tuck in it in their hands, and a boy always bare-headed with long hair hanging down his back waiting upon him, ever holding a ſmall bag in his hand, which is inſtead of a Pocket, wherein is *Betel-leaves* and *nuts*. Which they conſtantly keep chewing in their mouths, with *Lime* kept in a Silver Box rarely engraven, which commonly they hold in their hands, in ſhape like a Silver Watch. The Nobles in their beſt Apparel.

The great ones alſo generally, and ſpruce young men, do wear their haif long hanging down behind: but when they do any work or travail hard, it annoying them, they tie it up behind. Hereto- The faſhion of their hair.

fore

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Part III. fore generally they bored holes in their ears, and hung weights in them to make them grow long, like the *Malabars*, but this King not boring his, that fashion is almost left off. The men for ornament do wear Brass, Copper, Silver Rings on their Fingers, and some of the greatest Gold. But none may wear any Silk.

But the women in their Apparel do far surpass the men, neither are they so curious in clothing themselves as in making their wives fine. The mens Pride consists in their Attendance, having men bearing Arms before and behind them.

The Women dress in their bravery.

In their houses the women regard not much what dress they go in, but so put on their cloths as is most convenient for them to do their work. But when they go abroad, and make themselves fine, They wear a short Frock with sleeves to cover their bodies of fine white *Callico* wrought with blew and red Thread in flowers and branches: on their Arms Silver Bracelets, and their fingers and toes full of Silver Rings, about their necks, Necklaces of Beads or Silver, curiously wrought and engraven, guilded with Gold, hanging down so low as their brests. In their ears hang ornaments made of Silver set with Stones, neatly engraven and guilded. Their ears they bore when they are young, and rowl up *Coker-nut* leaves and put into the holes to stretch them out, by which means they grow so wide that they stand like round Circles on each side of their faces, which they account a great ornament, but in my Judgment a great deformity, they being well featured women.

How they dress their heads.

Their other ornaments and Apparel show very comely on them Their *Hair* they oyl, with *Coker-nut* oyl to make it smooth, and comb it all behind. Their hair grows not longer than their wasts, but because it is a great ornament to have a great bunch of hair, they have a lock of other hair fastened in a Plate of engraved Silver and guilded, to tie up with their own, in a knot hanging down half their Backs. Their hands are bare, but they carry a scarf of striped or branched Silk or such as they can get, casting it carelesly on their head and shoulders. About their *Wasts* they have one or two Silver girdles made with Wire and Silver Plate handsomly engraven, hanging down on each side, one crossing the other behind. And as they walk they chew *Betel*. But notwithstanding all their bravery neither man nor woman wears shoos or stockings, that being a Royal dress, and only for the King himself.

They commonly borrow their fine cloths.

It is in general a common custom with all sorts of People, to borrow Apparel or Jewels to wear when they go abroad, which being so customary is no shame nor disgrace to them, neither do they go about to conceal it. For among their friends or strangers where they go, they will be talking saying, *This I borrowed of such an one, and this of another body*. Their Poverty is so great, that their ability will not reach to buy such Apparel as they do desire to wear; which nevertheless is but very mean and ordinary at the best.

CHAP.

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A Gentlewoman.

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CHAP. VII.

Of their Lodging, Bedding, Whoredom, Marriages, and Children.

HAving been thus entertained with the fine Ladies abroad, it is time now to return home to our *Lodging*. And the night coming on, we will lead you to their Bed-Chambers, and shew you how they sleep. About which they are not very curious. If their house be but one room (as it often is) then the men sleep together at one end and the women at the other.

Their Bed, and how they sleep a nights.

They have *Bedsteads* laced with Canes or Rattans, but no *Testars* to them, nor Curtains; that the King allows not of; neither have they nor care they for more than one *Bedstead*, which is only for the Master of the house to sit or sleep on. To this *Bedstead* belongs two mats and a straw Pillow. The Woman with the Children always lyes on the ground on mats by the fire-side. For a Pillow she lays a block or such like thing under her mat, but the Children have no Pillows at all. And for covering and other bedding they use the cloth they wear by day. But always at their feet they will have a fire burning all night. Which makes more work for the Women; who must fetch it all upon her head. For it is accounted a disgrace for the man to meddle or make with those affairs, that properly do belong unto the Woman.

They rise in the night.

The younger sort of Children, such as go naked by day, creep in under a corner of their mothers cloths. And if they feel themselves cold in the night, they rise and blow the fire with their mouths, having no Bellows in that Countrey, and so sit and warm themselves thereby.

They are so little given to sleep, that they do rise many times in the night to eat *Beatel* and to take *Tobacco*. Which done they lay them down, and sing songs until they fall a sleep again.

Children taught to sing at going to Bed.

At their first going to bed, it is very seldom that they do pray to God, neither do they ever teach their Children so to do. But sometimes will say *Auh Dio*, which is *God help or keep me*. But they do instead of that, teach and bid their Children to sing songs when they go to bed.

Young People lie at one another's houses.

Where their houses consist but of one room, the Children that are of any years always go and sleep in other houses among their neighbours. Which please them better than their own. For so they come to meet with bedfellows, nor doth it displease the *Parents*, if young men of as good quality as themselves become acquainted with their daughters, but rather like well of it; knowing that their daughters by this means can command the young men to help and assist them in any work or business that they may have occasion to use them in. And they look upon it so far distant from a disgrace, that they will among their consorts brag of it, that they have the young men thus at their command.

Nothing so common as Whoredom.

So that youth are bred up to *Whoredom*. Indeed here are no Publick Whores allowed by Authority. In the City some that have followed that Trade, have oftentimes by the King's order been severely punished by Whipping, and having their Ears and Hair cut off. But

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Part III. in private few or none can exempt themſelves. And for the matter of being with Child, which many of them do not deſire, they very exquiſitely can prevent the ſame.

They are guilty of the thing, but love not the name.

Indeed the Publick Trade would be bad, and hardly maintain them that exerciſed it, the private one being ſo great. And tho I think they be all Whores, yet they abhor the Name of *Veſou*, which is *Whore*. Neither do they in their anger reproach one another with it, unleſs they ſhould lay with a Man of an inferior quality to themſelves. And the Woman reckons her ſelf as much obliged to the Man for his Company, as he does to her for hers. In theſe affairs the Women are very expert (it being their continual practice) to keep their deſign from the Husbands knowledge: tho by his own Experience he cannot be ignorant of Womens devices. And unleſs he catch them in the act he doth not much trouble himſelf to prove himſelf a *Cuckold*; Cuckolds being ſo common, that it is not here regarded.

The Man may kill whom he finds in Bed with his Wife.

It is a Law here, that if a Man catch another in Bed with his Wife, he may, be it whoſoever, kill him and her, if he pleaſe. It hath ſo happened that the Man hath come to the Door, when another hath been within with his Wife, there being no way to eſcape, the Woman has took a pan of hot aſhes, and as ſhe opened the Door, her Husband being entring, caſt them in his Eyes, and ſo ſhe and her Bedfellow made an eſcape.

The Womens craft to compaſs and conceal their Debauchery.

To fetch wood out of the Woods to burn, and to fetch home the Cattle is the Woman's work. If they cannot have their opportunities at home, now they appoint their meetings, while the Husband ſtays at home holding the Child. In the Evenings it is common for them with whom the Women be acquainted, to come and wait behind the Houſe when it is dark to attend their coming forth to them. To which end they give them notice either by breaking of a ſtick, or by putting ſome *Betel* over the Wall to fall in ſuch places as they have appointed, where ſhe will look to find it. And when ſhe has ſuch notice, ſhe cannot want an excuſe to go forth to meet him.

They bear ſuch love to their Bedfellows, that I have known this done, The Husband hath beſet the Houſe, and the Womans Friend in it, when ſhe hath holpen him to make a hole thro the Thatch to get out at, which he hath done and made his Eſcape, and ſhe remain behind to ſuffer all the blame her ſelf. When other opportunities are wanting to enjoy the Company of their *Paramours* whole Nights together, they uſually take occaſion to be diſcontented and fall out with their Husbands, and ſo go home to their Friends houſes, to get longer enjoyments. Who to ſhew their Friendſhip will not hinder but further them in what they delight in.

They do treat their Friends with the uſe of their Wives or Daughters.

In ſome Caſes the Men will permit their Wives and Daughters to lye with other Men. And that is, when intimate Friends or great Men chance to Lodge at their houſes, they commonly will ſend their Wives or Daughters to bear them company in their Chamber. Neither do they reckon their Wives to be Whores for lying with them that are as good or better than themſelves.

The Mother for a ſmall reward proſtitutes her Daughter.

They do not matter or regard whether their Wives at the firſt Marriage be Maids or not. And for a ſmall reward the Mother will bring her Daughter being a Maiden unto thoſe that do deſire her. But it is ſo much abhorred for Women of the high *Caſt* or *Deſcent* to admit Men of

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of the low *Caſt* to have any thing to do with them, that I think they never do it. Chap. 7.

But enough of this *Ribaldry*, let us turn away to more honeſt Practices. To ſpeak of their Marriages, which make the Bed lawful. There are not many Ceremonies uſed in or about the ſame. Here is no wooing for a Wife. The Parents commonly make the Match, and in their choice regard more the Quality and Deſcent than the Beauty. If they are agreed, all is done. The Match being thus made, the Man carrieth or ſends to the Woman her Wedding Cloths; which is a Cloth containing ſix or ſeven yards in length, and a Linnen Waſt-coat wrought with Blew and Red. If the Man be ſo poor that he cannot buy a Cloth, it is the Cuſtom to borrow one. In caſe the Man with his Friends goes and carries it himſelf, that Night they both ſleep together to beget acquaintance one with the other. And then they appoint a day when he is to come and fetch her home; which is the *Marriage-Day*.

Marriages.

No wooing.

The day being come, he attended with his Friends goes to her houſe, which is always in the Evening, and brings Proviſions and Sweet-meats with him according to his Ability, towards the Charges of the *Wedding*. Which is never more than two Meals. Whereof *Supper* is the firſt. Then the *Bride* and *Bridegroom* both eat together in one Diſh, which is to intimate that they are both of one rank and quality, and ſometimes they tye their Thumbs together, but not always: and that Night go to ſleep together.

The Bridegroom goes to the Brides Houſe.

The next day having dined he taketh his *Bride*, and departeth home with her, putting her before him, and he following her, with ſome of her Friends to Conduct her. For it is the conſtant Cuſtom and Faſhion in this Land for the Husband to follow his Wife. The reaſon whereof is a Tradition among them, that a Man once going foremoſt, it happened that his Wife was ſtoln away, and he not aware of it. Being come home the *Bridegroom* makes a Feaſt as he is able.

How the Bridegroom carrieth home his Bride.

Some few days after, her Friends uſually come to ſee her bringing a preſent of Proviſion with them. And ſometimes they uſe this Ceremony, the Man is to ſtand with one end of the Woman's Cloth about his Loins, and ſhe with the other, and then they pour water on both their Heads, wetting all their Bodies: which being done, they are firmly Married to live together, ſo long as they can agree.

A Ceremony of Marriage.

The Elder ſorts of People uſually woe and conclude their Marriages as they are in Bed together. For when they have loſt their Maidenheads, they fear not much what Man comes to ſleep with them, provided he be of as good quality as they, having nothing more to loſe. And at the day appointed the Man gives the Woman her Cloths, and ſo takes her home.

But their Marriages are but of little force or validity. For if they diſagree and miſlike one the other; they part without diſgrace. Yet it ſtands firmer for the Man than for the Woman; howbeit they do leave one the other at their pleaſure. They do give according to their Ability a *Portion* of Cattle, Slaves and Money with their Daughters; but if they chance to miſlike one another and part aſunder, this Portion muſt be returned again, and then ſhe is fit for another Man, being as they account never the worſe for wearing.

Man and Wife may part at pleaſure.

Both

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Part. III.

Men and Women change till they can please themselves.

Both Women and Men do commonly wed four or five times before they can settle themselves to their contentation. And if they have Children when they part, the Common Law is, the Males for the Man, and the Females for the Woman: But many of the Women are free from this controversie, being *Childless*.

Women have two Husbands.

In this Countrey each Man, even the greatest, hath but one Wife; but a Woman often has two Husbands. For it is lawful and common with them for two Brothers to keep house together with one Wife, and the Children do acknowledge and call both Fathers.

Women unclean.

So long as the *Women* have their Infirmities or Flowers upon them, they are accounted very unclean, insomuch that the very house is polluted in that degree that none will approach near it. And even she her self cares not to conceal it, but calls out to them that come near, that they may avoid her house. But after she hath washed her Head and Body all is purified again. It is lawful for no *Woman*, altho they be great Men's Wives, to sit on a Stool in the presence of a Man. It is customary for Men upon any frivolous account to charge one another in the King's Name to do or not to do, according as they would have it. This the Women upon Penalty of having their Tongues cut out, dare not presume to do.

Privileges of Men above Women.

As it is usual to punish Men for faults committed by Imprisonment and Chains, or by making them stand with a weight on their Backs, until they do pay such a Sum of Money as is demanded: which for ordinary faults may be five or ten *Shillings*. So the Punishment which is inflicted upon *Women*, is to make them stand with a Basket of Sand upon their Heads, so long as they shall think fitting, who appoint the Punishment. Punishment by stripes is never used either to Men or Women, but only to those on whom the King Commands them to be laid.

Privileges of Women.

Lands of Inheritance which belong to *Women* are exempted from paying *Harriots* to the King. *Women* pay no Custom for things they carry to the *Sea-Ports*. Neither is any Custom paid for what is carried upon any *Female* Cattel, *Cow* or *Buffalo*.

They often destroy new born Infants.

They have no Midwives, but the neighbouring good Women come in and do that Office. As soon as the Child is born, the Father or some Friend apply themselves to an *Astrologer* to enquire, whether the Child be born in a *prosperous Planet*, and a *good* hour or in an *evil*. If it be found to be in an *evil* they presently destroy it, either by starving it, letting it lye and die, or by drowning it, putting its head into a Vessel of water, or by burying it alive, or else by giving it to some body of the same degree with themselves; who often will take such Children, and bring them up by hand with Rice and Milk; for they say, the Child will be unhappy to the Parents, but to none else. We have asked them why they will deal so with their poor Infants, that come out of their Bowels. They will indeed have a kind of regret and trouble at it. But they will say withal, *Why should I bring up a Devil in my House?* For they believe, a Child born in an ill hour, will prove a plague and vexation to his Parents by his disobedience and untowardliness.

But seldom a First born.

But it is very rare that a *First-born* is served so. Him they love and make much of. But when they come to have many, then usual it is, by the pretence of the Childs being born under an *unlucky Planet*, to kill

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kill him. And this is reputed no fault, and no Law of the Land takes cognizance of it. Chap. 8.

In their Infancy they have *Names*, whereby one may be called and distinguished from the other. But when they come to years it is an affront and shame to them either Men or Women, to be called by those Names. Which they say is to be like unto Dogs. Then they change their Names into *Titles* according to the Town wherein they were born or do dwell. Also they have other Names, which may be compared to *Coats of Arms*, properly and only belonging to that Family: by which likewise they are called. **Their Names.**

This People are very Ambitious of their *Titles*, having but little else that they can boast in: and of Names and Titles of respect they have great plenty in their Language; instances whereof shall be given afterwards. **They are ambitious of high Titles.**

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Employments and Recreations.

IT is full time now, that we relate what *course of life* the People take, and what means they use for a *livelihood*. This has been in part already related.

As for *Commerce* and Merchandize with Foreign Nations, there is little or nothing of that now exercised. Indeed in the times when the *Portugueze* were on this Island, and Peace between them and the King, he permitted his People to go and Trade with them. The which he would never permit them to do with the *Hollander*, tho they have much sought for it. They have a small Traffic among themselves, occasioned from the Nature of the Island. For that which one part of the Countrey affords, will not grow in the other. But in one part or other of this Land they have enough to sustain themselves, I think, without the help of Commodities brought from any other Countrey: exchanging one Commodity for another; and carrying what they have to other parts to supply themselves with what they want. **Their Trade.**

But *Husbandry* is the great Employment of the Countrey, which is spoken of at large before. In this the best men labour. Nor is it held any disgrace for Men of the greatest Quality to do any work either at home or in the Field, if it be for themselves; but to work for hire with them is reckoned for a great shame: and very few are here to be found that will work so: But he that goes under the Notion of a *Gentleman* may dispence with all works, except *carrying*; that he must get a man to do when there is occasion. For carrying is accounted the most Slave-like work of all. **Work not discreditable to the best Gentleman.**

Under their Husbandry, it may not be amiss to relate how they geld their Cattel. They let them be two or three years old before they go about this work; then casting them and tying their Legs together; they bruise their Cods with two sticks tied together at one end, nipping them with the other, and beating them with Mallets all to pieces. Then they rub over their Cods with fresh Butter and Soot, and so turn them loose, but not suffer them to lye down all that day **How they geld their Cattel.**

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Part III. day. By this way they are ſecured from breeding Maggots. And I never knew any die upon this.

How they make Glew. Whenſoever they have occaſion to uſe *Glew*, they make it after this faſhion. They take the Curd of milk, and ſtrain the water from it through a cloth. Then tying it up in a cloth like a Pudding, they put it into boyling water, and let it boyl a good while. Which done it will be hard like Cheeſe-curd, then mixing it with Lime, uſe it. If it be not for preſent uſe, they will roul up theſe Curds into a Ball; which becomes hard, and as they have occaſion will ſcrape ſome of it off with a Knife, and ſo temper it with Lime. This Lime with them is as ſoft as Butter.

Their Manufactures. Their *Manufactures* are few: ſome *Callicoes*, not ſo fine as good ſtrong Cloth for their own uſe: all manner of Iron Tools for *Smiths*, and *Carpenters*, and *Husbandmen*: all ſorts of earthen ware to boil, ſtew, fry and fetch water in, *Goldſmith*'s work, *Painter*'s work, carved work, making Steel, and good Guns, and the like.

But their Art in ordering the *Iron-Stone* and making *Iron*, may deſerve to be a little inſiſted on. For the Countrey affords plenty of *Iron*, which they make of Stones, that are in ſeveral places of the Land; they lay not very deep in the ground, it may be, about four or five or ſix foot deep.

How they make Iron. Firſt, They take theſe *Stones*, and lay them in an heap, and burn them with wood, which makes them more ſoft and fitter for the Furnace. When they have ſo done they have a kind of Furnace, made with a white ſort of Clay, wherein they put a quantity of Charcoal, and then theſe Stones on them, and on the top more Charcoal. There is a back to the Furnace, like as there is to a Smith's Forge, behind which the man ſtands that blows, the uſe of which back is to keep the heat of the fire from him. Behind the Furnace they have two logs of Wood placed faſt in the ground, hollow at the top, like two pots. Upon the mouths of theſe two pieces of hollow wood they tie a piece of a Deers Skin, on each pot a piece, with a ſmall hole as big as a man's finger in each skin. In the middle of each skin a little beſide the holes are two ſtrings tied faſt to as many ſticks ſtuck in the ground, like a Spring, bending like a bow. This pulls the skin upwards. The man that blows ſtand with his feet, one on each pot, covering each hole with the ſoles of his feet. And as he treads on one pot, and preſſeth the skin down, he takes his foot off the other, which preſently by the help of the Spring riſeth; and the doing ſo alternately conveys a great quantity of wind thro the Pipes into the Furnace. For there are alſo two Pipes made of hollow reed let in to the ſides of the Pots, that are to conduct the wind, like the noſe of a Bellows, into the Furnace.

For the eaſe of the Blower, there is a ſtrap, that is faſtned to two poſts, and comes round behind him, on which he leans his back: and he has a ſtick laid croſs-ways before him, on which he lays both his hands, and ſo he blows with greater eaſe. As the Stones are thus burning, the droſs that is in them melts and runs out at the bottom, where there is a ſlanting hole made for the purpoſe ſo big as the lump of Iron may paſs thro: out of this hole, I ſay, runs out the droſs like ſtreams of fire, and the Iron remains behind. Which when it is purified, as they think, enough, ſo that there comes no more droſs away, they drive

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drive this lump of Iron thro the ſame ſloping hole. Then they give it a chop with an Ax half thro, and ſo fling it into the water. They ſo chop it, that it may be ſeen that it is good, Iron for the Satisfaction of thoſe that are minded to buy. Chap. 8.

For a farewel of their labours, let it not be unacceptable to relate here a piece of their Houſewifry; and tell you how they make *Butter*. Firſt, They boil the Milk, then they turn it into a Curd; the next morning they skim off the Cream, and drill it in an earthen Veſſel with a ſtick having a croſs at the bottom of it, ſomewhat like a *Chocolate* ſtick. When the Butter is come, they put it in a pan, and fry it, to get all the water dry out of it, and ſo put it into an earthen pot for uſe. How they make Butter.

There are no *Markets* on the Iſland. Some few Shops they have in the Cities, which ſell Cloth, Rice, Salt, Tobacco, Limes, Druggs, Fruits, Swords, Steel, Braſs, Copper, &c. Shops in the City.

As to the *Prices* of Commodities, they are ſold after this rate. *Rice* in the City, where it is deareſt, is after ſix quarts for fourpence half-peny *Engliſh*, or a ſmall *Tango*, or half a *Tango*; ſix Hens as much; a fat Pig the ſame: a fat Hog, three ſhillings and ſix pence or four ſhilling: but there are none ſo big as ours. A fat Goat, two and ſix pence. *Betle-nuts* 4000 nine pence Currant price, when a Trad. Prizes of Commodities.

And now we are diſcourſing of their Traffick, we will ſpeak a little of their *Meaſures*, *Weights*, and *Coin*.

Firſt for *Meaſures*. A *Rian* is a Cubit, which is with them from the bone on the inſide of the Elbow to the tip of the fourth Finger. A *Waddo rian* is the Carpenters Rule. It is as much as will reach from one Elbow to the other, the Thumbs touching one the other at the tops, and ſo ſtretching out both Elbows. of their Meaſures.

For their Corn-meaſures, the leaſt is a *Potta*, which is to contain as much Grain as a man can hold heaped up in his whole hand palm and fingers and all. Four *Pottas* make a lawful or Statute-meaſure, called *Bonder Nellia*, ſignifying the King's meaſure. Which is the King's ordinary allowance to a man, that is as much as he can eat in a day. But we *Engliſhmen* were allowed two. Four of theſe *Bonder Nellias* make a *Courney*. In faſhion it is an handſom turned meaſure, ſome of them are made with Canes like a Basket. Ten of theſe *Courneys* make a *Pale*, that is forty meaſures, which is the uſual quantity that they ſell for a *Laree*, or fifth part of a Piece of *eight*, the uſual price in *Cande Uda*. But in time of Harveſt two *Pales* for a *Laree*. Four of theſe *Pales* make an *Ommouna*. In which they keep the account of their Corn, reckoning by *Ommounas*.

For their *Weights*, their ſmalleſt is a *Collonda*, ſix make juſt a Piece of *eight*. They have half *Collondas*, and quarter *Collondas*. When they are to weigh things ſmaller than a *Collonda*, they weigh them with a kind of red Berries, which grow in the Woods, and are juſt like Beads. The *Goldſmiths* uſe them, Twenty of theſe Beads make a *Collonda*, and Twenty *Collondas* make a *Pallum*. Their Weights.

Here is no Puniſhment for thoſe that make leſs weights and meaſures. They are more circumſpect that their meaſures be not too big than too little. For Money being ſcarce, Corn paſſeth inſtead of Money, and every man mets by his own meaſure. Which therefore he makes as large as he can or dares, that ſo when he receives his Debt of Corn, he may get as much as he can. Which upon this account would Meaſures bigger than the Statute puniſhable, but leſs not: and why?

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Part III. be a great injury to the poorer sort of People, who commonly are the Debtors. Therefore the *Adigars* Officers will go about the Towns to examine the measures by a *Statute-Measure*; and where they find great ones they cut them in pieces, and hang them up in the Streets to terrifie others, and sometimes will amerce a *Fine* upon them that have them.

Of their Coin. Of *Money* they have but three sorts that passeth for Coin in the King's Dominions. The one was Coined by the *Portugals*, the King's Arms on one side, and the Image of a *Friar* on the other, and by the *Chingulayes* called *Tangom massa*. The value of one is nine pence *English*, *Poddi Tangom*, or the small *Tangom* is half as much. There is another sort, which all People by the King's Permission may and do make. The shape is like a fish-hook, they stamp what mark or impression on it they please. The Silver is purely fine beyond pieces of *Eight*. For if any suspect the goodness of the Plate, it is the Custom to burn the Money in the fire red hot, and so put it in water: and if it be not then purely white, it is not Currant Money.

The third sort of Money is the King's proper Coin. For none upon pain of Death may Coin it. It is called a *Ponnam*. It is as small as a Spangle: Seventy five make a piece of *Eight*, or a *Spanish Dollar*. But all sorts of Money is here very scarce: And they frequently buy and sell by exchanging Commodities.

Of their Play. Pass we now from their Business to their *Pastimes* and Diversions. They have but few *Sports*, neither do they delight in *Play*. Only at their *New year*, they will sport and be merry one with another. Their chief Play is to bowl *Coker-nuts* one against the other, to try which is the hardest. At this time none will work, until their *Astrologers* tell them, it is a good hour to handle their Tools. And then both Men and Women do begin their proper works; the Man with his Ax, Bill, and Hough, and the Woman with her Broom, Pestle, and Fan to clean her Corn.

A Play or a Sacrafice. There is another *Sport*, which generally all People used with much delight, being, as they called it, a Sacrifice to one of their Gods; to wit, *Potting Dio*. And the benefit of it is, that it frees the Countrey from grief and Diseases. For the beastlines of the Exercise they never celebrated it near any Town, nor in sight of Women, but in a remote place. The manner of the Game is thus. They have two crooked sticks like Elbows, one hooked into the other, and so with contrivances they pull with Ropes, until the one break the other; some siding with one stick, and some with the other; but never is Money laid on either side. Upon the breaking of the stick, that Party that hath won doth not a little rejoyce. Which rejoycing is expresst by Dancing and Singing, and uttering such sordid beastly Expressions, together with Postures of their Bodies, as I omit to write them, as being their shame in acting, and would be mine in rehearsing. For he is at that time most renowned that behaves himself most shamelesly and beast-like.

For the filthiness of it forbid by the King. This filthy Solemnity was formerly much in use among them; and even the King himself hath spent time in it, but now lately he hath absolutely forbidden it under penalty of a forfeiture of Money. So that now the practice hereof is quite left off.

A cunning stratagem of an Officer. But tho it is thus gone into disuse, yet out of the great delight the People had in it, they of *Gimpala* would revive it again; and did.

Which

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Which coming to the King's ear, he ſent one of his Noblemen to take a Fine from them for it. The Nobleman knew the People would not come to pay a Fine, and therefore was fain to go to work by a Stratagem. Pitching therefore his Tents by a Pond, he gave order to call all the People to his aſſiſtance to catch Fiſh for the King's uſe. Which they were very ready to do, hoping to have the refuſe Fiſh for themſelves. And when they were all thus aſſembled together with their Tools, and neceſſary Inſtruments for that purpoſe, the Nobleman charged them all in the King's Name according to the Countries faſhion, which was by pulling off his Cap, and falling down upon the ground three times, that not a man of them ſhould budge till they had paid ſuch a Sum of Money, which was ſo much a piece, for reviving that Play that the King had forbid. Which they were forced to do before they departed from the Pond ſide. And the Money was carried into the King's Exchequer. Chap. 8.

When they would be merry, and particularly at their great *Feſtival* in the New Moon of *June* or *July* (before mentioned;) they have People that ſhew pretty tricks and feats of Activity before them. A man ſets a *Pole* of ſeven or eight foot long upon his Breaſt; a Boy gets to the top of this Pole, and leans with his Belly upon the end of it; and thus the man danceth with the Pole on his Breaſt, and the Boy on it, and but little holding the Pole. A man takes four *Arrows* with blades about a foot long, they are tied one croſs another, and ſo laid upon the end of a Pole, which reſts upon the man's Breaſt. On a ſudden he ſquatts down upon the ground, and the four Arrows all fall on the four ſides of him, ſticking in the ground. Two *Croſs-bows* ſtand bent one oppoſite to the other, charged with Arrows drawn up to the heads: they are placed juſt ſo high, as they may fly over a man's back when he lyes flat upon the ground. A man danceth between them and ſhows Tricks, and when he is pleaſed, he touches a ſtring made faſt to both their trickers, at which they both inſtantly Diſcharge, and he falls flat down between them, and the Arrows fly over his back, which if they hit him, undoubtedly fly thro his Body. A Woman takes two *naked Swords* under each Arm one, and another ſhe holds in her mouth, then fetcheth a run and turns clear over, and never touches the ground till ſhe lights on her feet again, holding all her Swords faſt. There are divers other Diverſions of this nature too large to mention. Tricks and feats of Activity.

At their leiſure when their affairs will permit, they commonly meet at places built for ſtrangers and way-faring men to lodge in, in their Language called *Amblomb*, where they ſit chewing *Betel*, and looking one upon the other very gravely and ſolidly, diſcourſing concerning the Affairs at Court, between the King and the great Men; and what Employment the People of the City are buſied about. For as it is the chief of their buſineſs to ſerve the King, ſo the chief of their diſcourſe is concerning ſuch matters. Alſo they talk of their own affairs, about Cattel and Husbandry. And when they meet with Outlandiſh-men they enquire about the Laws and Government of their Countrey, and if it be like theirs; and what Taxes and Duties we are bound to pay, and perform to our King, *&c.* At leiſure times they meet, and diſcourſe of News.

And this manner of paſſing their leiſure time they account the greateſt Recreation. *Drunkenneſs* they do greatly abhor, neither are Drunkenneſs abhorred

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Part III. there many that do give themselves to it. *Tobacco* likewise they account a Vice, but yet is used both by Men and Women; but more eaten than drunk in Pipes.

Their great delight in Betel.

But above all things *Betel leaves* they are most fond of, and greatly delighted in: when they are going to Bed, they first fill their mouths with it, and keep it there until they wake, and then rise and spit it out, and take in more. So that their mouths are no longer clear of it, than they are eating their Victuals. This is the general practice both of Men and Women, insomuch that they had rather want Victuals or Cloths than be without it; and my long practice in eating it brought me to the same condition. And the Reasons why they thus eat it are, *First*, Because it is wholsom. *Secondly*, To keep their mouths perfumed: for being chewed it casts a brave scent. And *Thirdly*, To make their Teeth black. For they abhor white Teeth, saying, *That is like a Dog.*

The better sort of Women, as Gentlewomen or Ladies, have no other Pastime but to sit and chew *Betel*, swallowing the spittle, and spitting out the rest. And when Friends come to see and visit one the other, they have as good Society thus to sit and chew *Betel*, as we have to drink *Wine* together.

The Manner of their eating Betel-leaves.

But to describe the particular manner of their eating these Leaves. They carry about with them a small Box filled with wet Lime: and as often as they are minded to eat *Betel*, they take some of this Lime, as much as they judge convenient, and spread it thin upon their leaf; then they take some slices of the *Betel-nut*, and wrap them up in the leaf, and so eat it, rubbing their Teeth therewith ever and anon to make them black. Thus they eat it generally: but sometimes they eat it otherwise, according as they please; neither spreading the Lime on the leaf, nor rolling up slices of the Nut into it: But they will take a little of the Lime out of their Box between their Fingers, and put it in their mouths, and eat of the Nut and the Leaf by themselves.

But whensoever they eat of the *Betel-leaf*, the Lime and the Nut always accompany it.

How they make Lime.

They have a pretty shift of making their *Lime*, when they chance to need it as they are travailing. They take certain Shells, almost resembling *Snails* Shells, which they pick up in fresh water Rivers, washed a shore with the water beating upon the Rocks. These Shells, mixed with Charcoal and, fire they wrap up in a wisp of Rice-straw, and bind them together in a round bundle of a convenient bigness, tying all up with green Withs, that they may not fall in pieces. By a With some four foot long they hold it in their hands, swinging it round over their heads. Which motion blows the Coals and makes them burn. And as they are weary with swinging it in one hand, they shift and take it in the other: and so keep swinging it for half an hour or thereabouts. By which time it will be burnt to very good Lime, and most part of the straw consumed: but it is still kept together by the green Withs. Then they take it and wet it in water, and put it into their Pots or Boxes for their use. The Lime made of white stone burnt in a Kiln they do indifferently use to eat with their Leaves, as well as this made of Shells now described.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IX.

Of their Laws and Language.

THere are three things, that ingenious men may possibly be inquisitive after, which have not yet been professedly handled, their *Laws*, their *Language*, and their *Learning*.

Concerning the first, here are no *Laws*, but the Will of the King, and whatsoever proceeds out of his mouth is an immutable Law. Nevertheless they have certain antient usages and Customes that do prevail and are observed as Laws; and Pleading them in their Courts and before their Governors will go a great way. Their Laws.

To hint some of them, their Lands are hereditary, and do descend from Parents to their Children. But the eldest son by Priviledg of Birth-right does not possess and enjoy all the Land, but if the Father please he can divide it among his Children. Yet in case the eldest son does enjoy the Land, then without dispute he is to maintain his Mother and her Children until they come to years of ability to provide for themselves. Lands descend.

They have a custom in the Land of *Ouvah*, which is a great breeder of Cattle, and hath but very little Wood, so that they have not where with to make hedges; It is that when they sow their Lands, they drive their Cattle thence, and watch them all day that they break not in to the Corn; and at night they tie their Cattle to secure them from straying into the Corn-Lands: otherwise if one Neighbours Cattle eats another neighbours Corn, he must pay the dammage. In case Corn receives dammage by a Neighbours Cattle.

Those that are lazy and loath to Plow, or that are Poor and want Corn to sow, the *Custom* is, to let out their ground to others to Till at *Ande*, that is *at halves*; but fees and accustomable dues taken, out by the Husbandman that tills it, the Owner of the Land receives not much above a third part.

For the Husband hath divers considerable payments besides his half share of the Corn. As namely, first he hath *Cotoumaun*, that is, so much Corn as they scratch off from the whole heap of trodden Corn by drawing a bundle of Thorns over it. Secondly, *Waracool*, that is a consideration for the expences they are at in Tilling and Sowing: for which there is a Rate according to the bigness of the field. Thirdly, *Warrapoll*, that is the Corn they leave at the bottom of the heap after they have done fanning. Which is the Womans fee for their pains in weeding the Corn, and in pulling it it up where it is too thick, and planting it where it is thin, *&c.* Fourthly, *Bolerud* which is the Chaff and sweepings of the Pit. This sometimes comes to a considerable value according to the quantity of Corn that is trodden. Fiftly, *Peldorah*, which is a piece of Corn they leave standing before the watch house, which is set up in their Corn grounds to watch their Corn from the wild beasts. And this left standing is the fee for watching. There is yet another due *Ockyaul* which belongs to their Gods, and is an offering sometimes carried away by the Priest; and sometimes they bestow it upon the beggar, and sometimes they will take it and hang it up in their houses, and at convenient time sacrifice it themselves: The loss of leting out land to Till.

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Part. III.

themselves. It is one of their measures, which is about half a Peck.

The great consideration for Corn borrowed.

And in the mean time until this Corn is ripe, the Owner is fain to go a borrowing Corn to sustain himself and Family. Which he pays consideration for: which is, when his own Corn is ripe, a bushel and an half for a bushel that is, at the rate of Fifty *per Cent.* Which manner of lending Corn is a means that doth maintain many strangers and others. For they who have got a small stock of Corn by that Profit may competently live upon it. Which was the means that *Almighty God* prepared for my relief and maintenance.

Corn thus lent is somewhat difficult to receive again. For the *Debtor* being Poor, all the *Creditors* will come into the field, when the Corn is a shareing, that being the place of payment: and as soon as it is divided each one will scramble to get what he can. And having taken possession of it, from thence the Creditor must carry it home himself, be it far or near.

The debt becomes double in two years.

If the Debt remains in the Debtors hands two years, it becomes doubled: and from thence forward be it never so long, no more use is to be paid by the Law of the Land, which Act was established by the King in favour of the Poor, there having been some whole Families made Slaves for a bushel of Corn.

If the debtor pay not his debt he is lyable to be a Slave for it.

But yet it is lawful for the Creditor, missing Corn, to lay hands on any of his goods: or if the sum be somewhat considerable on his Cattle or Children, first taking out a License from the Magistrate so to do, or if he have none, on himself or his wife, if she came with him to fetch the debt, if not, she is clear from this violence; but his Children are not.

Divers other other Laws and Customes.

If a woman goes away from her Husband without his consent, no Man may marry her, until he first be married. In lending of mony by the use of it in one years time, it becomes double. And if the Creditor receive not his mony at the expiration of the year, but lets it lie in the Debtors hands never so long after, no more than double is is to be paid, the encrease never runs up higher as it is in lending Corn. If a Bond-woman has Children by a Free-man, the Children all are Slaves to her Master: but if a Bond-man has Children by a Free-woman, the Children are free: For the Children are always as the Mother, whether Bond or Free. No man may cut down a *Coker-nut-Tree.* If any man to a bargain or promise gives a stone in the Kings name, it is as firm as hand and seal. And if any after this go back of his word, it will bear an Action. If any man be taken stealing, he must restore seven for one, or else be made a Slave, if he be not able to pay it.

It is lawful and customary for a man in necessity to sell or pawn his Children, or himself. No man building an house either in his own or another mans ground, if he be afterwards minded to leave his Land, where his house stood, may pull it down again: But must let it stand for the benefit of whosoever comes after him.

For deciding controversies.

For the *deciding* of matters in controversie especially of more abstruse cognizance, the paaties do both swear before their Gods, sometimes in *their Temples*, and sometimes upon more extraordinary occasions in *hot Oyl.*

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Chap. 9.

Swearing in the Temples.

Sometimes in their *Temples*. To explain which, take this following relation. A Slave was accuſed by a Merchant to have robbed his houſe. Whereupon to clear himſelf, the Slave deſired he might ſwear. So the Merchant and Slave went both to the Temple to ſwear. The Merchant ſwore poſitively that the Slave had robbed his houſe; and the Slave ſwore as poynt blank that he had not robbed his houſe: and neither of them having any witneſſes, God who knew all things was deſired to ſhew a Judgment upon him that was forſworn. They both departed to their houſes, waiting to ſee upon whom the Judgment would fall. In the mean time the Slave privatly ſets the Merchants houſe on fire, and his houſe was burnt down to the ground. Then it was clear by this ſuppoſed divine Judgment, the Merchant was forſworn. The Slave preſently demands ſatisfaction for laying Theft faſly to his charge. The Merchant could not tell what to ſay to it, but would give him none. The Slave was now to take his own ſatisfaction, as he had opportunity. And his Maſter bids him ſeize upon the Merchants Perſon or any other relating to him, and bring them to his houſe, and there detain them. Within a ſhort time after, the Slave ſeeing a Kinſman of the Merchants paſſing by, offers to ſeize him. But he, rather than be taken, draws his Knife and Stabs the Slave on the ſhoulder, and ſo eſcapes. In Fine, the Merchant was fain to bribe the Great Men to ſave himſelf from further dammage, and ſit down contented with the loſs of his goods and houſe. Though the Slave was a perſon of a very bad reputation, and had done divers Theſts; and ſome of his ſtolen goods he hath brought to me to ſell.

The benefit of ſwearing in hot Oyl.

Sometimes they do decide their debates by *ſwearing in hot Oyl*. Which becauſe it is remarkable, I will relate at large. They are permitted thus to ſwear in matters of great importance only, as when *Law* Suits happen about their Lands, or when their is no witneſs. When they are to ſweare, each party hath a *Licence* from the Governor for it, written with his hand to it. Then they go and waſh their heads and bodies, which is a religious ceremony. And that night they are both confined Priſoners in an houſe with a guard upon them, and a cloth tyed over each of their right hands and ſealed, leaſt they might uſe any charm to harden their fingers.

The next morning they are brought out; they then put on clean cloths, and purifie themſelves, reckoning they come into the preſence of God. Then they tie to their wriſts the *Leaf* wherein the Governors Licence is, and repair under ſome *Bogahah*, *God-Tree*, and all the Officers of the County aſſemble with a vaſt number of people beſides. *Coker-nuts* are brought, and Oyl is there extracted from them in the ſight of the people, that all may ſee their is no deceit. Alſo they have a Pan of *Cow-dung* and water boyling cloſe by: The *Oyl* and *Cow-dung* being both boyling and throughly hot, they take a young leaf of a *Coker-nut* Tree and dip that into the Oyl, that all may ſee it is hot. For it ſinges, and frizzels up, and roars as if you poured water into hot boyling Oyl. And ſo they do likewiſe to the *Cow-dung*. When all are ſatisfied the Oyl is hot, the two men come and ſtand on each ſide of this boyling Oyl; and ſay, *The God of Heaven and Earth is witneſs, that I did not do this that I am accuſed of*; Or, *The four ſorts of Gods be witneſs, That this Land in controverſie is mine.*

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Part III.

mine. And then the other swears quite contrary. But first the *Accuser* always swears. The *Accused* also relates his own innocence, or his own Right and Title. The cloths that their hands were bound up in are taken off. And immediatly upon using the former words, he dips his two fingers into the hot Oyl, flinging it out three times. And then goes to the boyling *Cow-dung*, and does the same. And so does the other. Then they tie up their hands again with the cloth, and keep both of them Prisoners till the next day. When their hands are looked upon, and their fingers-ends rubbed with a cloth, to see if the skin come off. And from whose fingers the skin comes, he is forsworn. The Penalty of which is a great forfeiture to the King and great satisfaction to the Adversary.

I am able to testifie, that the fingers of some of these that have thus sworn have been whole from any scald after this use of hot Oyl: but whether it be their innocence or their Art, that it thus comes to pass, I know not. The penalty of the breach of the Laws or Customes of this Land is at the pleasure of the Judg, either amercement, or imprisonment, or both.

How they exact Fines.

For the taking of *Fines* from men, on whom they are laid, this is their Custom. The Officers, whersoever they meet the man, stop him in the place. Where they take away his Sword and Knife; and make him pull off his Cap and Doublet; and there he sits with his Keepers by him, till he pays the *Fine*. And if he delays paying it, they clap a great Stone upon his back; in which condition he must remain till he pays it. And if he doth not pay, they load him with more Stones, until his compliance prevent further pains. Another way they have to exact the payment of the Fines laid upon them. They take some sprigs of Thorns, and draw them between the mans naked Legs till he pays. But if he remain obstinate they clap him up in chains.

They have an odd usage among them to recover their debts. Which is this. They will sometimes go to the house of their debtor with the leaves of *Neiingala* a certain Plant, which is rank Poyson, and threaten him, that they will eat that Poyson and destroy themselves, unless he will pay him what he ows. The debtor is much afraid of this, and rather than the other should Poyson himself, will sometimes sell a Child to pay the debt: Not that the one is tender of the life of the other, but out of care of himself. For if the party dyes of the Poyson, the other for whose sake the man Poysoned himself must pay a ransome for his life. By this means also they will sometimes threaten to revenge themselves of those with whom they have any contest, and do it too. And upon the same intent they will also jump down some steep place or hang or make away with themselves; that so they might bring their Adversary to great dammage.

Of their Language.

To speak now a little of their *Language*. It is a language peculiar to that Island: and I know not any *Indian* Nations that speak it but themselves. There are a few words that are common to the *Chingulays* and the *Malabars*, which they might borrow of one another, by Intercourse and Commerce, but the words are so few, that a *Malabar* cannot understand a *Chingulay*, nor on the contrary.

Their language is *Copious Smooth*, *Elegant*, *Courtly*; according as the People that speak it are. Who are full of words, Titles and Complements.

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The manner of Extorting their Fine

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Complements. They have no leſs than twelve or more Titles that they uſe when they ſpeak to Women according to their ranks and qualities. Chap. 9.

Titles to women according to their qualities.

Puddeci.	*A word for a woman of the loweſt condition.*
Kiddekel.	*A term of more reſpect, given to a young wench.*
Nanda.	*A term for an inferior woman ſomething in years, ſignifies alſo* Ant.
Nandadga.	*A little higher yet, of the like years.*
Nauchere.	*A Title may be given to an ordinary woman, ſtill, but yet higher.*
Lamhaumi.	*A Title higher than any yet.*
Ettani.	*Higher ſtill.*
Lam-Ettani.	*Of more reſpect.*
Ettanihaumi.	*Higher than that.*
Maugi.	*Proper only to an old woman, but of good quality.*
Maugiwanxi.	*Better then the Maugi.*
Comaurehaumi.	*A Title due to the greateſt Ladies.*
Hondreunié.	*Given to the Queen or the King.*

So that it is hard to ſpeak to a woman without they know what ſhe is before, leaſt they might miſtake her *Title*. And the women are much pleaſed with ſome of the better *Titles*.

Titles given to men.

The men alſo have various *Titles*, tho not ſo many as the women. People give to them theſe Titles according to the buſineſs they have with them. If they come for ſome favour or kindneſs to be done them, they beſtow the better ſort of Titles upon them.

They have ſeven or eight words for *Thou*, or *You*, which they apply to perſons according to their quality, or according as they would honour them. And they are ſo, *Topi*, *Umba*, *Umbela*, *Tomnai*, *Tomſi*, *Tomſela*, *Tomnanxi*. All theſe words are gradually one higher than the other.

No difference between a Country man and a Courtier for Language.

Their ordinary *Plow-men* and *Husbandmen* do ſpeak elegantly, and are full of complement. And there is no difference between the ability and ſpeech of a *Country-man* and a *Courtier*. When any hath a favour to beg of a Noble-man, or any buſineſs with him, they do not abruptly ſpeak their deſires or errand at firſt, but bring it in with a long *harangue* of his worth or good diſpoſition or abilities; and this in very handſom and taking ſtile. They bring up their Children to ſpeak after this manner, and uſe them to go with errands to great men; and they are able to tell their tale very well alſo.

Their ſpeech and manner of Addreſſes is Courtly and becoming.

In their ſpeech the people are bold without ſheepiſh ſhame facedneſs, and yet no more confidence than is becoming.

Their Language in their addreſs to the King.

The King they call by a name, that ſignifies ſomewhat higher than a man, and next to God. But before the Wars they ſtiled him *Dionanxi*, which is a Title higher than God by the addition of *Nanxi*. This Title the King took before the Rebellion, but ſince he forbad it. When they ſpeak to the King concerning themſelves, they do not ſpeak in the *firſt perſon*, and ſay *I did ſo or ſo*, but *Baulagot the limb of a Dog did it or will do it*. And when they ſpeak of their Children unto the King, they call them *Puppies*. As if he ask them how many Children they have, they ſay ſo many *Puppy-dogs*, and ſo many *Puppy-bitches*.

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Part III. *bitches*. By which by the way, we may conjecture at the height of the King and the ſlavery of the People under him.

Words of Form and Civility.

They have certain words of *Form* and *Civility*, that they uſe upon occaſion. When they come to another mans houſe, he asks them what they come for, which is his civility, and they anſwer *Nicamava*, *I come for nothing*, which is their ordinary reply, tho they do come for ſomething. And upon this they have a Fable.

A *God* came down upon earth one day, and bad all his Creatures come before him and demand what they would have and it ſhould be granted them. So all the beaſts and other Creatures came, and one deſired Strength, and another Legs, and another Wings, &c. And it was beſtowed on them. Then came the White men, the God asked them, *what they came for?* And they ſaid, they deſired *Beauty* and *Valour* and *Riches*. It was granted them. At laſt came the *Chingulays*, the God required of them, *what they came for*. They anſwered, *Nicamava, I come for nothing*. Then replyed he again, *do you come for nothing, then go away with nothing*. And ſo they for their complement fared worſe than all the reſt.

When one proffers ſomething as a gift to another, altho it be a thing that he is willing to have, and would be glad to receive, yet he will ſay, *Eeppa queinda, No, I thank you; how can I be ſo chargeable to you?* And in the ſame time while the words are in his mouth, he reacheth forth his hand to receive it.

Full of words and complement.

Neither are they free or forward to requite them, from whom they have received a gift or good turn, otherwiſe than with words and windy proteſtations; the which ſhall not be wanting. But forwards they are to receive, yet very backward to part with any thing. And if one neighbour asketh ought of another, or to borrow any thing, which the other is unwilling either to give or lend, they never will plainly deny by ſaying, *I cannot or will not*; but with diſſembling they will excuſe themſelves, ſaying, *They have it not, or is it lent abroad already*, altho it be with them in the houſe at the ſame time.

By whom they ſwear.

Their uſual manner of ſwearing in proteſtations, is *by their Mother*, or *by their Children*, or *by their two Eyes*, oftner than *by their Gods*. But their proteſtations be they never ſo deep, and ſeem they never ſo ſerious, they are not to be regarded, as proceeding more from cuſtom than truth.

Their Railery.

Some of their words of *Reproach*, or Railery are ſuch as theſe. One brother will ſay to another, and that in preſence of their Mother, *Tomotowoy, go lye with your Mother*, the other replyes *go you and lye with your Mother*. And the Mother will ſay to the Daughter, *Jopi oppota audewind, go lye with your Father*; intimating ſhe is good for nothing. They will commend their Children, when they can uſe their tongues in their own defence by ſcolding and ſay, *Hærri, oppana, Well ſaid, valiantly ſpoken*. They will ſay alſo in reproach, *Creep between my legs, cut your Noſe off. If you have five hundred lives, you ſhall be damned*. The worſt railery they can give a woman is to tell her, *ſhe has laid with ten ſorts of inferior ranks of People*, which they will rather dye than do. If any thing be ſtole out of their grounds or Plantations fruit or the like, they will cry out a loud, *This was done by ſome low-caſt begotten Rogue*, or *She was a whore to ſome inferior rank who dreſſed it*; and this Language they will continue for half an hour

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hour together, tho they know not who hath done it. The worſt word they uſe to *Whites* and *Chriſtians*, is to call them *Beaſ-eating Slaves*. Chap. 9.

I ſhall conclude this Diſcourſe of their Language, by giving you a taſt of their *Proverbs*, ſome hints of the ſtrain of their Speech.

Miris dilah, ingurah gotta. *I have given Pepper, and got Ginger.* Proverbs. Spoken when a man makes a bad exchange. And they uſe it in reference to the *Dutch* ſucceeding the *Portugueze* in their Iſland.

Datta horrala Badda perind. *Pick your Teeth to fill your Belly.* Spoken of ſtingy niggardly People.

Caula yonawa ruah atti. *To eat before you go forth is handſom and convenient.* Which they therefore ever do.

Kiallah tiannah, Degery illand avah oppala hanguand mordy, *As the ſaying is, if I come to beg Butter-milk, why ſhould I hide my Pan.* Which is ordinarily ſpoken to introduce the buſineſs that one man comes to ſpeak to the other about.

Hingonna wellendam cor cottonwat geah par wardenda netta. *A Begger and a Trader cannot be loſt.* Becauſe they are never out of their way.

Atting mitting delah hottarah harracurnowah. *To lend to another makes him become an Enemy.* For he will hate you if you ask him for it again.

Annuna min yain ecka ourowaying younda eppa. *Go not with a Slave in one Boat.* It ſignifies, to have no dealing or correſpondence with any ones Slave. For if any dammage ſhould happen, it would fall upon your head, and by their Law you muſt make it good.

Iſſara otting bollanowa pos cotting. Firſt look in the hand, afterwards open the mouth. Spoken of a Judge, who firſt muſt have a Bribe before he will pronounce on their ſide.

Take a Ploughman from the Plough, and waſh off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a Kingdom. Spoken of the People of *Cande Uda*, where there are ſuch eminent Perſons of the *Hondrew* rank; and becauſe of the Civility, Underſtanding, and Gravity of the pooreſt Men among them.

No body can reproach the King and the Beggar. Becauſe the former is above the ſlander of the People, and nothing can be ſaid bad enough of the latter:

Like *Noia* and *Polonga*. Denoting *Irreconcileable Enemies*. The ſtory of which two Serpents hath been related before.

He that hath Money to give to his Judge, needs not fear, be his Cauſe right or wrong. Becauſe of the corruption of the great Men, and their greedineſs of Bribes.

If our Gerehah, *fortune be bad, what can God do againſt it?* Reckoning that none of their Gods have Power to reverſe the fate of an ill *Planet*.

The Ague is nothing, but the Head-ach is all. That Countrey is very ſubject to Agues, which do eſpecially afflict their heads who have them. I might multiply many more of their Proverbial ſayings, but let theſe ſuffice.

I cannot pretend to give an account of the *Grammar* of this Tongue. I ſhall only give a few inſtances of their words, and leave it to the Learned

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Part. III. Learned to make their Conjectures. Firſt, I will give you ſome of their *Nouns Plural.*

Something of their Grammer.

Minnia, *A Man.* Minnis, *Men.*
Cucula, *A Cock.* Cuculong, *Cocks.*
Cole-la, *A Boy.* Colani, *Boyes.*

Galah, *A Tree.* Gos, *Trees.*
Auhoun, *A Horſe.* Auſpio, *horſes.*
Polaha, *A young Jack.* Polas, *Jacks.*

But uſually when they have occaſion to ſpeak of many they expreſs themſelves by *Numerals* ſet after the *Noun*; as *Diſſawva* two, three, &c. *An Egg, Bittera, Eggs, Bittera cattei*, word for word, *Egg many.*

Their *Verbs* they form after this manner:

Mam conna,	*I eat.*	Caupoudi,	*Let him eat.*
Mam conyum,	*I will eat.*	Caum,	*Let us eat.*
Mam cava,	*I have eat.*	Conda,	*To eat.*
Conowa,	*Eating.*	Caula,	*Eaten.*

Mam denyam,	*I will give.*	Dem,	*Let us give.*
Mam Doun na,	*I gave.*	Dennowa,	*Giving.*
Dila,	*I have given.*	Dipon,	*Give him.*
Dendi,	*Shall I give? / To give.*	Douna, *or* Dila tiana,	*Given.*

Mam yonyam,	*I'le go.*	Yonda dipadi,	*Let him go.*
Mam yonda oni,	*I will go.*	Pollatch,	*Gone*, ſpoken of an ordinary perſon.
Yong,	*Let us go.*	Pollad-da,	*Gone*, ſpoken of a perſon of great quality.
Yonowa,	*Going.*		
Mam oy,	*I am,*	Mam gia atti,	*I have been.* [Atti] ſignifieth [have]
Eai,	*He*, or *They*, or *He is.*	Gia d endi.	*Let him*, or *give him leave to go.*

A Specimen of their words.

Dio,	*God.*	Gani,	*A Woman.*	Oppa,	
Dio loco,	*Heaven.*	Rodgura,	*A King.*	Pianannah,	*Father.*
Jacco,	*The Devil.*	Haul,	*Raw rice.*	Oppatchi,	
Narra cauda,	*Hell.*	Bat,	*Boyled rice.*	Omma,	
Aucoi,	*The Sky.*	Banglale,	*A Table.*	Ommandea,	*Mother.*
Taurcoi,	*A Star.*	Wellau,	*Time.*	Puta,	
Deure,	*Water.*	Wauri,	*Seaſon.*	Putandi,	*Son.*
Gindere,	*Fire.*	Colading,	*Harveſt*	Dua,	
				Donianna,	*Daughter.*

Molla,	*A flower.*	Oppuland,	*To waſh cloths.*	Horraund,	*To bore.*
Gauhah,	*A tree.*	Naund,	*To waſh the body.*	Hoppacaund,	*To bite.*
Courilla,	*A bird.*	Pinaund,	*To ſwim.*	Coraund,	*To do.* (done.
Gom,	*A town.*	Coppaund,	*To cut.*	Corowaund,	*To cauſe to be*

Goumanic,

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Goumanic, *A journey.* Heuwoya, } All words ſignifying Common *Soldiers*, only they are titles one above another, and the two laſt are as much as to ſay *Gentlemen Soldiers.* Heuwaycom, *To fight* Coraund, as much as as to ſay, *To act the Soldier.* Chap. 10.
Gauman corowaund, *To ſend*, word for word, *to cauſe to do a journey.* Heuwoynanna, Heuwoynanoura,

Mihi, *To dye.*
Mich, *Dead.*
Mienyum, *I will dye.*
Miœnowa, *Dying.*
Eppa, *Do not.*
Negatind, *To riſe.*
Upaudénowa, *The Reſurrection.*
Negantind Eppa, *Do not riſe.*
Tonnaund, *To build.*
Tannitch, *Built.*
Touncheroutwitch, *It is finiſhed.*
Na & Natti, *No*, or *not.*

I ſhall only make one Obſervation from theſe words, and that is concerning the four firſt. It is this, that they have no words of their own Language for *God* and *Heaven*, but in all probability borrowed them from the *Portugueze.* But for the two next, *The Devil* and *Hell*, words of their own. They number thus,

						Their Numbering.
Eckhoi	I.	*Novihoi*	IX.	*Dauhahottoi*	XVII.	
Deckhoi	II.	*Dauhoihoi*	X.	*Dauha ot hoi*	XVIII.	
Tunhoi	III.	*Eckolauhoi*	XI.	*Dauhanovihoi*	XIX.	
Hotterhoi	IV.	*Dolahoi*	XII.	*Viſhoi*	XX.	
Pauhhoi	V.	*Dauhottunhoi*	XIII.	*Tihoi*	XXX.	
Hoyhoi	VI.	*Dauhotterhoi*	XIV.	*Hottalehoi*	XL.	
Hothoi	VII.	*Paulohoi.*	XV.	*Ponnahoi*	L.	
Ot hoi	VIII.	*Dauhoſſahoi*	XVI.			

CHAP. X.

Concerning their Learning, Aſtronomy, and Art Magick.

THeir *Learning* is but ſmall. All they ordinarily learn is to read and to write. But it is no ſhame to a man if he can do neither. Nor have they any *Schools* wherein they might be taught and inſtructed in theſe or any other Arts. Of their Learning.

Their *Books* are only of their *Religion* and of *Phyſick*. Their chief Arts are *Aſtronomy* and *Magick*. They have a Language ſomething differing from the vulgar tongue (like *Latin* to us) which their Books are writ in. They learn to write upon Sand, ſpreading it upon the ground, and making it ſmooth with the hand, and ſo write the letters with their fingers to bring their hand in uſe. Their Books, and Arts. How they learn to write.

They write not on Paper, for of that they have little or none; but on a Talli-pot leaf with an Iron Bodkin, which makes an impreſſion. This leaf thus written on, is not folded, but rolled up like Ribbond, and ſomewhat reſembles Parchment.

If they are to write a Book, they do it after this manner. They take the *Tallipot* leaf, and cut it into divers pieces of an equal ſhape and ſize, ſome a foot, ſome eight inches, ſome a foot and an half long, and about three fingers broad. Then having thus prepared the leaves, they write in them long ways from the left hand to the right, as we do. When the Book is finiſhed they take two pieces of board, which are How they make and write a Book.

to

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Part. III. to ſerve for the cover of the Book. To theſe boards are faſtened two ſtrings, which do paſs thro every leaf of the Book, and theſe tye it up faſt together. As the Reader hath read each leaf, he lifts it up, and lays it by ſtill hanging upon the ſtrings, and ſo goes to the next leaf, ſomething reſembling Bills filed upon Wyre.

The Prieſts write Books of *Bonna*.

The *Gonnies*, who are men of leiſure, write many Books of *Bonna*, that is of the Ceremonies of their Religion: and will ſometimes carry them to great Men, as a preſent, and do expect a reward.

The King's Warrants how wrapped up.

The King when he ſends any *Warrants* or Orders to his Officers, hath his Writings wrapped up in a way proper to himſelf, and none elſe do or may fold up their leaves in that manner but He.

They write upon two ſorts of leaves.

They write upon the *Tallipat* leaves *Records* or matters of great moment, or that are to be kept and preſerved: but for any ordinary buſineſs as Letters, &c. they commonly uſe another leaf, called *Taulcole*. The leaves of which will bear a better impreſſion than the *Tallipat*, but they are more ſtubborn, and harder than the other, and will not fold.

Their Skill in Aſtronomy.

But to ſpeak a little of their *Aſtronomy*. They who have underſtanding in it, and practiſe it, are the *Prieſts* of the higheſt Order, of which the preſent King's Father was. But the common ſort of *Aſtronomers* are the *Weavers*. Theſe men can certainly foretel *Eclipſes* of the Sun and Moon. They make *Leet*, that is *Almanacks* that laſt for a Month. They are written upon a *Tallipat* leaf, a little above a foot long, and two fingers broad. In them are told the Age of the *Moon*, and the good Seaſons and times to begin to Plough or to Sow, or to go a Journey, or to take any work in hand. On this preciſe time they will be ſure to ſprinkle their firſt Seed, tho they ſow all their Field it may be a Month after. And ſo they will begin to ſet forth at the very moment, tho poſſibly they will not go till ſome days after.

Their Almanacks.

Theſe *Aſtronomers* tell them alſo when the old year ends to the very minute. At which time they ceaſe from all work, except the Kings, which muſt not be omitted. They acquaint them alſo with the good hour of the New year, they are to begin to work. At which time every Man and Woman begins to do ſomewhat in their employment they intend to follow the enſuing year. They have alſo another ſeaſon directed them by their *Aſtronomers*: that is, when to begin to *waſh their heads*, which is aſſigned to every one according to the time of their *Nativities*, which Ceremony they obſerve very religiouſly.

They pretend to know future things by the Stars.

Theſe *Aſtronomers*, or rather *Aſtrologers*, are skilful in the Knowledge of the Stars, and *Planets*, of which they reckon *nine*: 'tis ſuppoſed they may add the *Dragon*'s Head and Tail. By which they pretend to foretel all things concerning the health and recovery of Sick Perſons; alſo concerning the fate of Cildren born, about which the Parents do preſently conſult them, and ſave their Children or kill them according to the fortunate or unfortunate hour they tell the Parents they were born in.

VVhen a Perſon is Sick, he carries to theſe men his *Nativity*, which they call *Hanna hom pot*, upon the peruſal of which they tell his deſtiny. Theſe alſo direct fit times for beginning *Journeys*, or other undertakings. They are likewiſe conſulted concerning *Marriages* by looking upon the Man and Womans Nativity.

They

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Chap. 10.

Their Æra, Their Years, Months, Weeks, Days, Hours.

They reckon their *Time* from one *Saccawarsi* an ancient King. Their year consists of 365 days, They begin their year upon our Eight and twentieth day of *March*, and sometimes the Seven and twentieth, and sometimes, but very seldom, on the Nine and twentieth. The reason of which I conceive to be, to keep it equal to the course of the Sun, as our *Leap year* doth. They call the year *Ouredah*. This they divide into Twelve Months, named, *Wasachmaha*, *Pomaha*, *Ahalamoha*, *Micheneha*, *Bochmoha*, &c. They divide their Months into Weeks, each consisting of seven days, called *Fridah*, *Sandudah*, *Onghorudah*, *Bodadah*, *Braspotindah*, *Secouradah*, *Henouradah*. The first of which they account a good and a fortunate day to begin to do or undertake any thing: and it falls out upon our *Sunday*. On their *Wednesdays*, and *Saturdays* they open their Churches, and perform their Ceremonies. Their day, which they call *Dausack*, they divide into Thirty *Pays*, hours or parts, and beg in their account from the Sun rising, and their Night also into as many, and begin from Sun-setting: So that the Fifteenth *Pay* is Twelve a Clock at Noon. They have a *Flower* by which they judge of the time, which constantly blows open seven *Pays* before Night.

How they measure their time.

They have no *Clocks*, *Hour-glasses*, or *Sun-Dials*, but keep their time by guess. The King indeed hath a kind of Instrument to measure time. It is a *Copper Dish* holding about a Pint, with a very small hole in the bottom. This Dish they set a swimming in an Earthen Pot of water, the water leaking in at the bottom till the Dish be full, it sinks. And then they take it out, and set it empty on the water again, and that makes one *Pay*. Few or none use this but the King, who keeps a man on purpose to watch it continually. The People will use it upon some occasions, as if they are to sow their Corn at any particular hour, as being the good lucky Season, then they make use of the *Copper Pan*, to know the time exactly.

Their Magick.

They do practise *Magick*. Whereof take these two remarkable instances of many that might be given.

The Plenty of a Country destroyed by Magick.

The Countrey of *Neurecalava* formerly brought forth great plenty of Corn, occasioned by reason of its large waterings. A Neighbour Kingdom, the Kingdom of *Cournegal* which lyes in *Hotcourley*, in those times was brought to a great dearth. At which the King sends to the People of *Neurecalava*, that they would bring a supply of Corn to his Countrey, which they did in great store upon Beasts in Sacks, and arrived at the King's City: and there for the more expeditious measuring out every Housholder his proportion of Corn, they made a hole in the Sacks, and let it run out, still driving on the Beasts before them: and all that was shed before every man's House, was to be his share. This exceedingly gratified the King.

Afterward the King to requite them, asked what they most needed in their Countrey? They answered, They had plenty of all things, only they wanted *Cahah mirris*, that is *Turmeric* and *Pepper*. The King to gratifie them sent them such a quantity of each as his Country could afford. As soon as this was brought to the People of *Neurecalava*, they went to measure it out to every man his Portion, but finding it of so small a quantity, they resolved to grind it, as they do when they use it with their Victuals, and put it into the River to give a seasoning to the water, and every Man was to take up his Dish

of

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Part III. of water thus seasoned. From whence *Neurecalava* had its denomination, *viz.* from *Neur*, signifying a *City*, and *Cahah* that signifies *Turmeric*, and *Lava*, as if it were *Lalla, put into the River.*

The King hearing of this Action of theirs was offended, in that they so contemned his gift; but concealed his displeasure. Sometime after he took a Journey to them, and being there, desired to know how their Countrey became so very fruitful. They told him, it was the water of the River pent up for their use in a very vast Pond. Out of which they made Trenches to convey the water down into their Corn Grounds. This Pond they had made with great Art and Labour with great Stones and Earth thrown up of a vast length and thickness, in the fashion of an half Moon. The King afterwards took his leave of them and went home; and by the help of his *Magicians* brake down this vast Dam that kept in the water, and so destroyed the Pond. And by this means this fruitful Countrey wanting her water is become as ordinary Land as the rest, having only what falls out of the Sky.

Their Charm to find out a Thief.

When a Robbery is committed to find the Thief, they Charm a *Coker-nut*, which is done by certain words, and any one can do it, that can but utter the Charm words. Then they thrust a stick into it, and set it either at the Door or hole the Thief went out at. Then one holds the stick with the Nut at the end of it, and the Nut pursues and follows in the Tract that the Thief went. All the way it is going they still continue Charming, and flinging the Blossoms of the *Betel-nut-Tree* upon it. And at last it will lead to the house or place where the Thief is, and run upon his Feet. This Nut will sometimes go winding hither and thither, and sometimes will stand still. Then they follow their Charms, strewing on Blossoms, and that sets it forward again. This is not enough to find the Thief guilty; but if they intend to prosecute the Man upon this Discovery, the Charmer must swear against him point blank: which he sometimes will do upon the Confidence of the Truth of his Charms. And the supposed Thief must either Swear or be Condemned.

The way to dissolve this Charm.

Oftentimes Men of courage and metal, will get Clubs, and beat away the Charmer, and all his Company, and by this means put all to an end. If the Thief has the wit to lay his tail by the way, the *Coker-nut* when it comes thither will stop and run round about it, but go no further. I doubting the truth hereof, once took the stick, and held it my self, when they were upon this Business, but it moved not forward while I held it in my hand, tho they strewed their Flowers, and used their mutterings to provoke it. But afterwards when another took it, it went forward. I doubted whether they did not guide it with their hand, but they assured me it guided their hand.

Inscriptions upon Rocks.

Here are some *antient writings* engraven upon Rocks which poseth all that see them. There are divers great Rocks in divers parts in *Cande Uda*, and in the *Northern* Parts. These Rocks are cut deep with great Letters for the space of some yards, so deep that they may last to the worlds end. No body can read them or make any thing of them. I have asked *Malabars*, *Gentuses*, as well as *Chingulays* and *Moors*, but none of them understood them. You walk over some of them. There is an antient Temple *Goddiladenni* in *Tattanour* stands

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by one place where there are of these Letters. They are probably in memorial of something, but of what we must leave to learned men to spend their conjectures. Chap. 11.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Sickness, Death and Burial.

NOthing now remains, but to carry you to their *Sick-beds*, and to tell you what they do with the Bodies of their friends deceased, and their Behavior on these occasions. They live to a great Age very often to fourscore, and hale at that age the Kings Sister was near an hundred. They are healthy and of a sound constitution. The *Diseases* this Land is most subject to, are *Agues* and *Fevours*, and sometimes to *Bloody-fluxes*. The *Small-Pox* also sometimes happeneth among them. From which they cannot free themselves by all their charms and inchantments, which are often times successful to them in other distempers. Therefore they do confess like the *Magicians* in *Egypt*, that this is the very finger of Almighty God. They are also subject to *Aches* and *Pains* in their Bodies. For the Remedy whereof they have excellent oyntments and oyls, which they make and keep to have ready when they have occasion. The diseases this Countrey is subject to.

Here are no professed *Physitians* nor *Chyrurgeons*, but all in general have some skill that way, and are *Physitians* and *Chyrurgeons* to themselves. Their *Medicines* they make of the leaves that are in the Woods, and the barks of Trees. With which they purge and vomit themselves, and will do notable Cures upon green wounds, and also upon sore eyes. Every one a Physitian to himself.

To give a few hints of their method of Physick and what Ingredients they make use of.

For *purging* they make use of a Tree called *Dallugauhah*. It bears no leaves, nothing but thorns, and is of a soft substance. Being cut there runs out a white thick milk; in which we soak some whole corns of Pepper a whole night. The next day the Pepper is taken out, and washed clean, and then boyled in fair water with a sower fruit they call *Goraca*, which we shall speak of by and by. This they drink, and it purgeth very well. This milk is rekoned as rank Poyson as any thing can be; and yet the *Goats* eat of the Tree greedily without harm. To Purge.

For a *Vomit*, there is is a leaf of a Plant called *Warracole* in colour like a *Cabbage* leaf, but smaller; it grows upon a long stalk some three foot high. This leaf as soon as it is broken from the stalk is full of milk, which runs out. In this milk they put a lump of Salt, and let it lye a whole night, The next day they take the Salt out, which is not dissolved, and wash it clean: then boyl a little, Rice and Water together. After tis taken off the fire, they put this salt into it, and drink it. To Vomit.

There is a strong *Purge* they make with a berry called *Jawpolls*, which is a little long greenish berry. Of it self it is rank Poyson.

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Part. III. They boyl it with *Goraca*, and Pepper in water, and drink a little of the water.

To heal Sores. For drawing and healing of *Sores*, they have a leaf called *Mockinacola*; it is a very like our *Tunhoof* or *Ground-ivy*, only it is a brighter green; it runs along upon the ground and ſpreads it ſelf as *Tunhoof* doth. They only take the leaf and clap it upon the ſore.

To heal an Impoſtume. For an *Impoſtume* in the Throat, we take the rind of the Tree *Amaranga* and bruiſe it and rub it with green *Turmeric*, and wrap it up in a *Plantane* leaf, and bury it in hot aſhes, and there let it lye an hour or two till the fire hath well qualified it. Then the Patient takes it, and keeps chewing it for a day or two ſwallowing the ſpittle. The Virtue of this I my ſelf can teſtifie being exceedingly ill with a ſore Throat, and could not ſwallow. By the uſe of this I was well within a day and a night.

For a hurt in the Eye. For a *ſore* or *hurt in the eye*, they take *Oulcande-cole*, *Goderacole*, two herbs, the juyce of each, and womans milk and having mingled them, drop them into the eye. I had a Thorn of a conſiderable length run into the gray of my eye, and put me to great pain, the *Chingulays* adviſed me to uſe this means, aſſuring me how ſucceſsful it was wont to be; but I was loath to tamper with ſo tender a place; and thanks be to God, after ſome days the Thorn fell out of it ſelf.

To cure the Itch. It is a ſpeedy Cure of the *Itch*, to take *Coudouro giddi*, a fruit of a Tree in form ſomewhat like a *Muſſel* but bigger. This fruit they cut in ſlices and fry it in *Coker-nut oyl*. And with this oyl they anoint the body.

The Caudle for Lying in women. The ordinary *Caudle* for *Women in Child-bed*, is *Goraca* boyled in water with Pepper and Ginger. Women in that condition uſe nothing elſe. This *Goraca* is a fruit round like an *Apple* marked with divers creaſes along the ſides of it. Being ripe it is within and without red like blood, but ſower. they uſe this fruit as we do *Lemons* and *Oranges*. The core is ſweet and pleaſant, but They regarding it not fling it away. If you bite this fruit, it ſticks to the Teeth like wax or pitch. But their chief uſe of it, is to boyl it with other things to make them taſt ſower. They gather them at the time of year, and break the cloves aſſunder by their fingers, for they, if they be pulled, will part at the creaſes. And then they lay them in the Sun and dry them, being dryed they look like mens ears. And ſo they keep them for their uſe. Two or three of theſe will give a pleaſant ſower reliſh unto a large veſſel of any liquid thing. This *Goraca* is in great uſe among them.

Goraca.

Excellent at the cure of Poyſon. As there are in this Countrey very many Poyſonous Plants, and Creatures, ſo the People have excellent skill in the healing thereof. There is one plant among the reſt ſo ſtrong a venom, that no creature will eat or touch it; and this is the leaf, that the People ſometimes carry with them when they go to demand their debts, and threaten their debtors, they will poyſon themſelves before them, unleſs they will pay them. It is called *Neiingala*, a ſprig that ſprings out of the ground almoſt like an *Hony-ſuckle*, but not ſo big: and bears a curious Flower much like an *Hony-ſuckle*.

They eaſily heal the biting of Serpents, by herbs. They are oftentimes ſtung with venomous Serpents, upon which ſudden death follows without ſpeedy help: But if the bite be taken in time, they can certainly cure themſelves, and make nothing of it. Which they perform both by *Herbs* and *Charms*. Tho upon the ſting they

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they preſently vomit blood. The knowledg of theſe antidotal herbs they have learned from the *Mounggoutia* a kind of *Ferret*. This creature when the *Noya* and he meets always fight. If he chanceth to be bitten by the Serpent, which is very venomous, he runs away to a certain herb and eats it and ſo is cured, and then comes back and fights again. The *Chingulays* when they ſee theſe two creatures fighting, do diligently obſerve them, and when they ſee the *Mounggoutia* goes away, they take notice of the herbs he eats, and thereby have learned what herbs are proper to cure ſuch venoms.

And Charms.

They are skilful alſo in the uſe of *Charms*, to cure the ſtings of Serpents or to prevent them, the *Noyas* they can charm to that paſs, that they will take them up in their hands, and carry them in baskets and handle them and kiſs them without any harm. But the *Polonga* will not hear a charm. They charm other wild and venomous creatures alſo; as the *Tyger* that he ſhall not hurt their Cattel.

Not good at healing inward diſtempers.

But to cure inward diſeaſes they are not excellent. But generally when they are ſick they apply themſelves to their Gods. But their chief ſupplication they make to the Devil, as being God's inſtrument, ſent to puniſh and afflict whom he pleaſeth; as I have diſcourſed at large already.

They both bury and burn their dead.

Theſe People are very loath to dye, and as much afraid of the Devil in their ſickneſs, whom at ſuch times they chiefly invoke. Being dead none will come near the houſe for many days, leſt they ſhould be defiled. The better ſort burn the dead, becauſe worms and maggots ſhould not eat them. But the poorer ſort who regard not ſuch matters bury them making a hole in the Woods, and carrying the body wrapped up in a mat upon a Pole on their ſhoulders with two or three attending it, and ſo laying it in without any ceremony, and covering it.

They ſend for a Prieſt to pray for his Soul.

Some days after his deceaſe, if his friends wiſh well to his Soul, they ſend for a Prieſt to the houſe, who ſpends a whole night in praying and ſinging for the ſaving of that Soul. This Prieſt beſides very good entertainment, in the morning muſt have great gifts and rewards. And to encourage them therein, he tells them that the like bounty and liberality as they ſhew to him, ſhall the Soul of their departed friend receive in the other world. And ſo according to their ability, they freely give unto him, ſuch things as they are poſſeſſors of. And he out of his wonderful good nature refuſeth not any thing, be it never ſo mean. And thus with Drums and Pipes ſounding before him, they conduct him home to his houſe.

How they mourn for the dead.

Their manner of mourning for the dead is, that all the Women that are preſent do looſe their hair, and let it hang down, and with their two hands together behind their heads do make an hideous noiſe, crying and roaring as loud as they can, much prayſing and extolling the Virtues of the deceaſed, tho there were none in him: and lamenting their own woful condition to live without him. Thus for three or four mornings they do riſe early, and lament in this manner, alſo on evenings. Mean while the men ſtand ſtill and ſigh.

The nature of the Women.

Theſe women are of a very ſtrong couragious ſpirit, taking nothing very much to heart, mourning more for faſhion than affection, never overwhelmed neither with grief or love. And when their Husbands are dead, all their care is where to get others, which they can-

 It

not long be without.

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Part III.

How they Bury.

It may not be unacceptable to relate how they burn their Dead. As for Persons of inferior Quality, they are interred in some convenient places in the Woods, there being no set places for Burial, carried thither by two or three of their Friends, and Buried without any more ado. They lay them on their Backs, with their heads to the *West* and their feet to the *East*, as we do. Then those People go and wash; for they are unclean by handling the Dead.

How they Burn.

But Persons of greater quality are burned, and that with Ceremony. When they are dead they lay them out, and put a Cloth over their Privy Parts, and then wash the Body, by taking half a dozen Pitchers of water, and pouring upon it. Then they cover him with a Linnen cloth, and so carry him forth to burning. This is when they burn the Body speedily. But otherwise, they cut down a Tree that may be proper for their purpose, and hollow it, like a Hog-trough, and put the Body being Embowelled and Embalmed into it, filled up all about with Pepper. And so let it lay in the house, until it be the King's Command to carry it out to the burning. For that they dare not do without the King's order, if the Person deceased be a Courtier. Sometimes the King gives no order in a great while, it may be not at all. Therefore in such cases, that the Body may not take up house-room, or annoy them, they dig an hole in the floar of their house, and put hollowed tree and all in and cover it. If afterwards the King commands to burn the Body, they take it up again in obedience to the King, otherwise there it lyes.

Their order for *burning* is thus. If the Body be not thus put into a Trough or hollowed Tree, it is laid upon one of his Bedsteds, which is a great honour among them. This Bedsted with the Body on it, or hollowed Tree with the Body in it, is fastned with Poles, and carried upon Mens Shoulders unto the place of Burning: which is some eminent place in the Fields or High-ways, or where else they please. There they lay it upon a Pile of Wood some two or three foot high. Then they pile up more Wood upon the Corps, lying thus on the Bedsted, or in the Trough. Over all they have a kind of *Canopy* built, if he be a Person of very high Quality covered at top, hung about with painted Cloth, and bunches of Coker-nuts, and green Boughs; and so fire is put to it. After all is burnt to ashes, they sweep together the ashes into the manner of a Sugar-loaf: and hedg the place round from wild Beasts breaking in, and they will sow Herbs there. Thus I saw the King's Uncle, the chief *Tirinanx*, who was as it were the *Primate* of all the Nation, burned, upon an high place, that the blaze might be seen a great way. If they be Noblemen, but not of so high quality, there is only a Bower erected over them, adorned with Plantane Trees, and green boughs, and bunches as before.

How they bury those that die of the Small Pox.

But if any dye of the small Pox, be his Degree what it will, he must be Buried upon Thorns, without any further Ceremony.

PART

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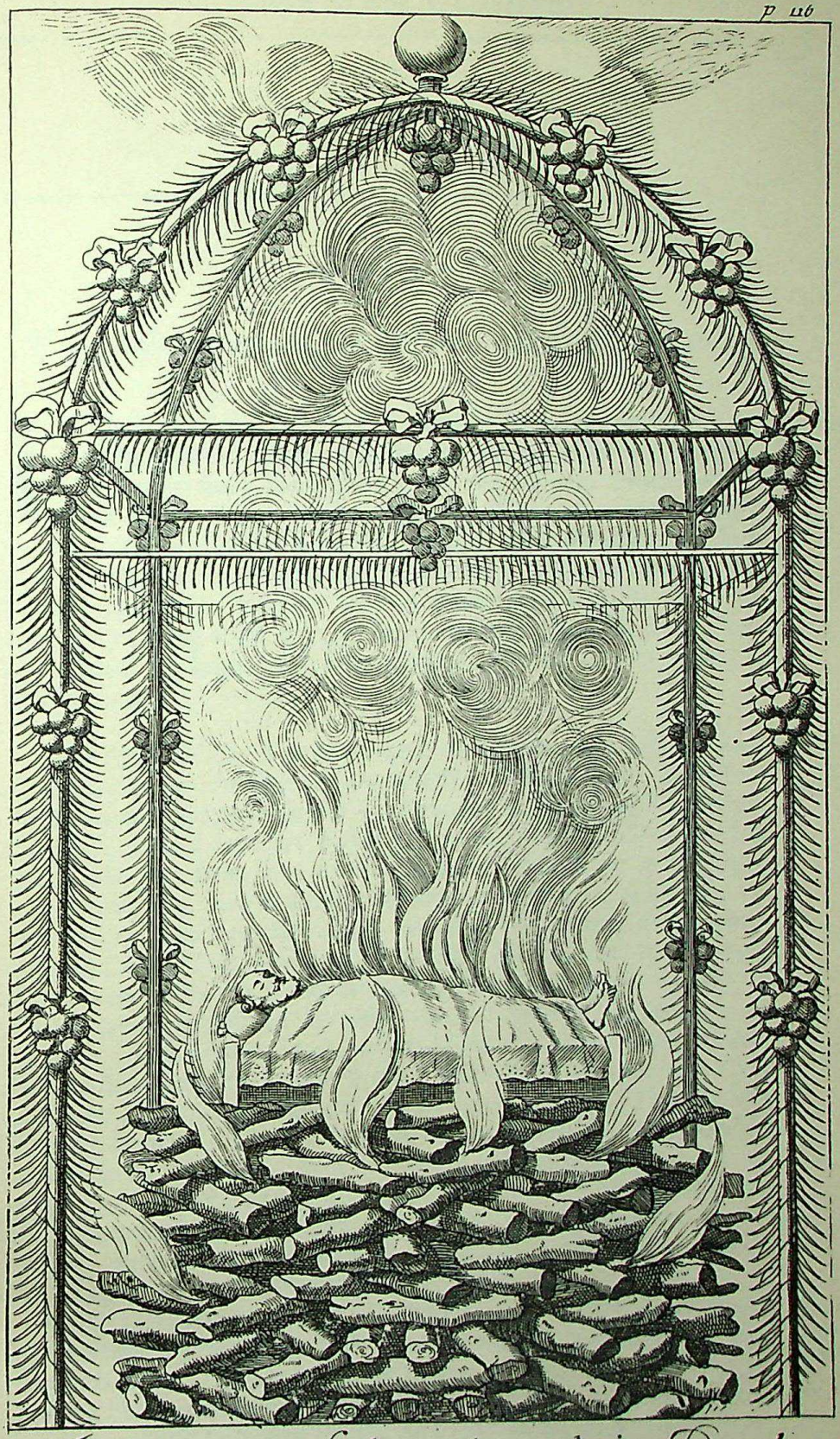

The manner of burning their Dead.

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PART IV.

CHAP. I.

Of the reason of our going to Ceilon, *and Detainment there.*

The subject of this fourth Part.

IN this Fourth and last Part, I purpose to speak concerning our *Captivity* in this Island, and during which, in what Condition the *English* have lived there, and the eminent Providence of God in my escape thence, together with other matters relating to the *Dutch*, and other *European* Nations, that dwell and are kept there. All which will afford so much variety, and new matters, that I doubt not but the Readers will be entertained with as much delight in perusing these things, as in any else that have been already related. I begin with the unhappy *Occasion* of our going to this Countrey.

The occasion of their coming to *Ceilon*.

Anno MDCLVII. The *Ann* Frigat of *London*, Capt. *Robert Knox* Commander, on the One and twentieth day of *January*, set Sail out of the *Downs*, in the Service of the Honourable the *English East-India Company*, bound for Fort *S. George*, on the Coast of *Cormandel*, to Trade one year from Port to Port in *India*. Which we having performed, as we were Lading of Goods to return for *England*, being in the Road of *Matlipatan*, on the Nineteenth of *November Anno* MDCLIX. happened such a mighty Storm, that in it several Ships were cast away, and we forced to cut our Main-Mast by the Board, which so disabled the Ship, that she could not proceed in her Voyage. Whereupon *Cotiar*, in the Island of *Ceilon*, being a very commodious Bay, fit for our present Distress, *Thomas Chambers* Esq; (since Sir *Thomas*) the Agent at Fort *S. George*, ordered, That the Ship should take in some Cloth, and go to *Cotiar* Bay, there to Trade, while she lay to set her Mast. Where being arrived according to the appointment of those *Indian* Merchants of *Porta Nova* we carried with us, to whom those Goods belonged, they were put ashore, and we minded our Business to set another Main-mast, and repair our other Dammages we had sustained by the late Storm.

They were not jealous of the People, being very courteous.

At our first coming thither, we were shy and jealous of the People of the Place, by reason our Nation never had any Commerce or Dealing with them. But now having been there some Twenty days, and going a Shore and coming on Board at our Pleasure without any molestation, the Governor of the Place also telling us, that we were welcom, as we seemed to our selves to be, we began to lay aside all suspitious thoughts of the People dwelling thereabouts, who had very kindly entertained us for our Moneys with such Provisions and Refreshings as those Parts afforded.

By

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Part IV.

A pretended Message to the Captain from the King.

By this time the King of the Countrey had notice of our being there, and as I suppose grew suspicious of us, not having all that while by any Message made him acquainted with our intent and purpose in coming. Thereupon he dispatched down a *Dissauva* or General with his Army to us. Who immediately sent a Messenger on Board to acquaint the Captain with his coming, and desired him to come ashore to him, pretending a Letter to him from the King. We saluted the Message with firing of Guns, and my Father the Captain ordered me with Mr. *John Loveland*, Merchant of the Ship, to go on shore and wait upon him. When we were come before him, he demanded *who we were, and how long we should stay?* We told him, *We were* English, *and not to stay above twenty or thirty days*, and desired Permission to Trade in his Majestie's Port. His answer was, the King was glad to hear that the *English* were come to his Countrey, and had commanded him to assist us as we should desire, and had sent a Letter to be delivered to none, but to the Captain himself.

We were then some twelve Miles from the Sea-side. Our reply was, *That the Captain could not leave his Ship to come so far, but if he pleased to come down to the Sea-side himself, the Captain would immediately wait upon him to receive the Letter.* Upon which the *Dissauva* desired us to stay that day, and on the morrow he would go down with us. Which being a small request, and we unwilling to displease him, consented to.

The beginning of their Suspition.

The same day at Evening, the *Dissauva* sent two of his chief Captains to the House where we lay to tell us, That he was sending a Present to the Captain, and if we pleased we might send a Letter to him; that he would send the Present in the Night, and himself with us follow the next Morning. At which we began to suspect, and accordingly concluded to write and advise the Captain not to adventure himself, nor any other on shore till he saw us. We having writ a Letter to this purpose they took it and went away, but never delivered it.

The Captain seized, and seven more.

The next Morning the Present, which was *Cattle*, *Fruit*, &c. was brought to the Sea-side, and delivered to the Captain; the Messengers telling him withal, that we were upon the way coming down, with the *Dissauva*; who desired his Company on shore against his coming, having a Letter from the King to deliver into his own hand. Hereupon the Captain mistrusting nothing, came up with his Boat into a small River, and being come ashore, sat down under a *Tamarind Tree*, waiting for the *Dissauva* and us. In which time the Native Soldiers privately surrounded him and Men, having no Arms with them; and so he was seized on and seven men with him, yet without any violence or plundering them of any thing: and then they brought them up unto us, carrying the Captain in a Hammock upon their Shoulders.

The Long-boat Men seized.

The next day after, the Long-boats Crew, not knowing what had happened, came ashore to cut a Tree to make Cheeks for the Main-mast, and were made Prisoners after the same manner, tho' with more violence. For they being rough and making resistance, were bound with Wyths, and so were led away till they came where the People got Ropes. Which when our Men saw brought to them, they were not a little affrighted. For being already bound, they concluded there could

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could be no other use for those Ropes but to hang them. But the true use of them was to bind them faster, fearing lest the Wyths might break, and so they were brought up farther into the Countrey; but afterwards being become more tame, they were loosed. They would not adventure to bring them to us, but quartered them in another House, tho in the same Town. Where without leave we could not see one another. The House wherein they kept the Captain and us, was all hanged with white *Callico*, which is the greatest Honour they can shew to any. But the House wherein the other men were, that were brought up after us, was not. They gave us also as good Entertainment as the Countrey afforded. Chap. I.

The General's Craft to get the Ship, as well as the Men.

Having thus taken both our Boats and Eighteen men of us, their next care was, fearing lest the Ship should be gone, to secure her: Therefore to bring this about, the *Dissauva* told the Captain that the reason of this their detainment was, that the King intended to send *Letters* and a *Present* to the *English* Nation by him, and therefore that the Ship must not go away, till the King was ready to send his Messenger and Message, and thereupon desired the Captain to send on Board to order her stay; and it being not safe for her to ride in the Bay, lest the *Dutch* might come and fire her, that he should take order for her bringing up into the River. Which advice of his, the Captain approved not of. But concealing his dislike of it, replied, that unless he could send two of his own men on Board with his Letter and Order, those in the Ship would not obey him, but speedily would be gone with the Ship. Which he, rather than he would run the hazzard of the Ships departing, granted; imagining that the Captain would order the Ship to be brought up into the River, as he had advised, tho the Captain intended to make another use of this Message.

The Captain's Order to them on board the Ship.

Upon which the Captain sent two of his men, some *Indians* accompanying them in a *Canoo* to the Ship, the Captain ordering them when they were aboard not to abuse the *Indians*, but to entertain them very kindly, and afterwards that setting them ashore, they should keep the *Canoo* to themselves, instead of our two Boats, which they had gotten from us, and to secure the Ship, and wait till further order.

These two men stayed on Board, and came not back again. This together with the Ships not coming up displeased the *Dissauva*, and he demanded of the Captain the reason thereof. His answer was, That being detained on Shore, the Men on Board would not obey his Command. Upon this some days after the *Dissauva* bid the Captain send his Son with order to those aboard that the Ship might be brought into the River, but provided that he would be Security for my return; which he promised he would. His order to me was, to see the top Chains put upon the Cables, and the Guns Shotted, and to tell Mr. *John Burford* chief Mate, and all the rest, as they valued their Lives and Liberties to keep a Watch, and not to suffer any Boat to come near, after it was dark: and charged me upon his Blessing, and as I should answer it at the great Day, not to leave him in this Condition, but to return to him again. Upon which I solemnly vowed according to my Duty to be his Obedient Son.

The Captain's second Message to his Ship.

So

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Part IV.

The Ships Company refuse to bring up the Ship.

So having seen all done according to his appointment, I wrote a Letter in the Name of the Company to clear my Father and my self, to this effect; *That they would not obey the Captain, nor any other in this matter, but were resolved to stand upon their own defence.* To which they all set their hands. Which done according to my Promise and Duty I returned again, and delivered the Letter to the *Dissauva*, who was thereby answered, and afterwards urged the Captain no more in that matter: but gave him leave at his pleasure to write for what he pleased to have brought to him from the Ship: still pretending the King's order to release us, was not yet, but would suddenly come. And so we remained expecting it about two Months, being entertained as formerly with the best Diet and Accommodation of the Countrey.

The Captain orders the ship to depart.

Having continued thus long in suspence, and the time and season of the year spending for the Ship to proceed on her Voyage to some other place, and our condition being, as we feared, and afterwards found to be, the beginning of a sad Captivity, the Captain sent order to Mr. *John Burford* to take the charge of the Ship upon him, and to set Sail for *Porto Nova* whence we came, and there to follow the *Agent*'s order.

The Lading of Cloth remained untouched.

If any inquire what became of the Cloth of our Lading, which we brought thither, they only took an account to see what it was, and so left it where and as it was before, and there it remained until both House and Goods rotted, as the People of the same Town informed me afterwards.

The probable reason of our Surprize.

I impute the main reason of our *Surprize* to our Neglect, *viz.* in not sending a Letter and Present to the King at our first coming. Who looking upon himself as a great *Monarch*, as he is indeed, requires to be treated with sutable State.

The number of those that were left on the Island.

Thus were *Sixteen* of us left to the mercy of those *Barbarians*, the Names of which are as follow. *The Captain*, Mr. *Joh. Loveland*, *John Gregory*, *Charles Beard*, *Roger Gold*, *Stephen Rutland*, *Nicolas Mullins*, *Francis Crutch*, *John Berry*, *Ralph Knight*, *Peter Winn*, *William Hubbard*, *Arthur Emery*, *Richard Varnham*, *George Smith*, and *my Self*. Tho our hearts were very heavy, seeing our selves betrayed into so sad a Condition, to be forced to dwell among those that knew not God nor his Laws; yet so great was the mercy of our gracious God, that he gave us favour in the sight of this People. Insomuch that we lived far better than we could have expected, being *Prisoners* or rather *Captives* in the hands of the Heathen; from whom we could have looked for nothing but very severe usage.

The *Dissauva* departs.

The Ship being gone, the King sent to call the *Dissauva* speedily to him, who upon this order immediately marched away with his Army, leaving us where we were. But concerning us was no order at all.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

How we were carried up into the Countrey, and disposed of there, and of the sickness, sorrow and death of the Captain.

THe *Dissauva* with his men being gone, the people of the Town were appointed to guard and secure us until further order. But they carryed us some six miles higher into the Countrey, and would not yet adventure to bring the *Long boats-crew* unto us, but kept them by themselves in another Town, fearing lest we might make an escape, as certainly we would have attempted it, had they not removed us. There was a small *Moors* Vessel, which lay in the River, which they had seized on about this time, as we supposed they would have done by our Ship if they could have catched her there. This Vessel had some forty men belonging to her, who were not made Prisoners as we were, but yet lay in the same Town: with those we had concluded, that they should furnish us with Arms, and in the night altogether to march down, and get on board of their Vessel, and so make our escape. But being prevented in this design by our departure, we were fain to lay at their mercy.

They intend to attempt an Escape, but are prevented.

In our new quarters our entertainment proved as good as formerly. And indeed there was this to mitigate our misery, that the People were courteous to us and seemed to pity us. For there is a great difference between the People inhabiting the high-lands, or the mountains of *Cande*, and those of the low-lands where we now are placed, who are of a kinder nature by far than the other. For these Countreys beneath the mountains formerly were in subjection unto the *Portugueze*. Whereby they have been exercised and acquainted with the customs and manners of *Christian* People. Which pleasing them far better than their own have begot and bred in them a kind of love and affection towards Strangers, being apt to shew Pity and Compassion on them in their distress. And you shall hear them oftentimes upbraiding the High-landers for their insolent and rude behavior.

Their condition commiserated by the People.

It was a very sad Condition whilst we were all together, yet hitherto each others company lessened our sufferings, and was some comfort that we might condole one another. But now it came to pass that we must be separated and placed asunder, one in a Village, where we could have none to confer withall or look upon, but the horrible black faces of our heathen enemies, and not understand one word of their Language neither, this was a great addition to our grief. Yet God was so merciful to us, as not to suffer them to part my Father and I.

They are distributed into divers Towns.

For it was some sixteen days after our last remove, the King was pleased to send a Captain with Soldiers to bring us up into the Country. Who brought us and the other men taken in the Long boat together: Which was an heavy meeting; Being then, as we well saw, to be carried Captives into the mountains. That night we supped together, and the next morning changed our condition into real Captivity. Howbeit they gave us many comfortable promises, which we believed not; as, *that the Kings intent was not to keep us any longer,*

An Order comes from the King to bring them up into the Countrey.

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Part. IV. *than till another Ship came to carry us away.* Altho we had but very little to carry, God knows, yet they appointed men to carry the cloths that belonged to the Captain and Officers.

How they were Treated on the way in the Woods.

We still expected they would plunder us of our cloths, having nothing else to be plundered of: but the *Chingulay* Captain told us, that the King had given order that none should take the value of a thread from us: Which indeed they did not. As they brought us up they were very tender of us, as not to tyre us with Travelling, bidding us go no faster than we would our selves. This kindness did somewhat comfort us. The way was plain and easie to Travail through great Woods, so that we walked as in an Arbour, but desolate of Inhabitants. So that for four or five nights we lay on the Ground, with Boughs of Trees only over our heads. And of Victuals twice a Day they gave us as much as we could eat, that is, of Rice, Salt-fish, dryed Flesh: And sometimes they would shoot Deer and find Hony in the Trees, good part of which they always brought unto us. And drink we could not want, there being Rivers and Puddles full of Water as we Travelled along.

And in the Towns among the Inhabitants.

But when we came out of the Woods among Inhabitants and were led into their Towns, they brought us Victuals ready dressed after their fashion, *viz.* Rice boiled in Water, and three other sorts of Food, whereof one Flesh, and the other two Herbs or such like things that grow in their Countrey, and all kinds of ripe Fruit, which we liked very well and fed heartily upon. Our entertainment all along was at the Charge of the Countrey: So we fed like Soldiers upon free Quarter. Yet I think we gave them good content for all the Charge we put them to. Which was to have the satisfaction of seeing us eat, sitting on Mats upon the Ground in their yards to the Publick view of all Beholders. Who greatly admired us, having never seen, nor scarce heard of, *English-men* before. It was also great entertainment to them to observe our manner of eating with Spoons, which some of us had, and that we could not take the Rice up in our hands, and put it to our mouths without spilling, as they do, nor gaped and powred the Water into our Mouths out of Pots according to their Countreys custom. Thus at every Town where we came they used both young and old in great Companies to stare upon us.

They are brought near *Cande*, and there seperated.

Being thus brought up all together somewhat near to the City of *Cande*. Now came an Order from the King to separate us, and to place us one in a Town. Which then seemed to us to be very hard, but it was for the convenience of getting Food, being quartered upon the Countrey at their Charge.

The Captain and his Son and two more quartered together.

Parted.

How they fared.

The Captain Mr. *John Loveland*, my self and *John Gregory* were parted from the rest, and brought nearer to the City, to be ready when the King should send for us. All the Rest were placed one in a Town according to the aforesaid Order. Special Command also was given from the King, that we all should be well entertained, and according to the Countrey fare we had no cause to complain. We four were thus kept together some two Months, faring well all the while. But the King minding us not, Order came from the great Men in Court to place us in Towns, as the rest were; only my Father and I were still permitted to be together, and a great Charge given to use us well. And indeed twice a Day we had brought unto us

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as good fare as the Countrey afforded. All the reſt had not their Provisions brought to them, as we had, but went to eat from houſe te houſe, each houſe taking its turn. Chap. 2.

On the Sixteenth of *September*, 1660. My Father and I were placed in a Town called *Bonder Coos-wat* the ſituation was very pleaſing and commodious, lying about Thirty Miles to the Northward of the City of *Cande*, in the Countrey called *Hotcurly* and diſtant from the reſt of our People a full days journey. We were removed hither from another Town nearer to the City where the Nobles at Court ſuppoſing that the King would call for vs, had placed us to have us ready. Being thus brought to *Bonder Cooſwat*, the People put it to our choice which Houſe we would have to reſide in. The Countrey being hot and their Houſes dark and dirty, my Father choſe an open Houſe, having only a Roof but no Walls. Wherein they placed a Cot, or Bedſtead only with a Mat upon it for him, which in their Account is an extraordinary Lodging; and for me a Mat upon the Ground. The Captain and his Son placed in *Cocwat*.

Moneys at that time were very low with us. For although we wanted not for opportunity to ſend for what we would have brought unto unto us from the Ship, yet fearing we ſhould be plundered of it, ſent not for any thing only a Pillow for my Father. For we held it a point without diſpute, that they that made Priſoners of our Bodies would not ſpare to take our Goods; my Father alſo alledging, that he had rather his Children at home ſhould enjoy them. Moneys ſcarce with them.

But to make amends for that, we had our Proviſions brought us without money, and that twice a Day, ſo much as we could eat, and as good as their Countrey yielded; to wit, a Pot of good Rice, and three Diſhes of ſuch things as with them is accounted good Cheer; one always either Fleſh, Fiſh or Eggs; but not over much of this Diſh, the other Diſhes, Herbs, Pumkins or ſuch like, one of which is always made ſower. But they had good Proviſions without it.

The firſt year that we were brought into this Town, this part of the Land was extraordinary Sickly by Agues and Feavours, whereof many People dyed; inſomuch that many times we were forced to remain an hungry, there being none well enough either to boil or bring Victuals unto us. The Town where they were, Sickly.

We had with us a *Practice of Piety*, and Mr. *Rogers* ſeven Treatiſes, called the *Practice of Chriſtianity*. With which companions we did frequently diſcourſe; and in the cool of the Evening walk abroad in the Fields for a refreſhing, tyred with being all day in our Houſe or Priſon. How they paſſed their time.

This Courſe laſted until God was pleaſed to viſit us both with the Countrey Sickneſs, *Ague and Feavour*. The ſight of my Fathers miſery was far more grievous unto me than the ſence of my own, that I muſt be a Spectator of his Affliction, and not any ways able to help him. And the ſight of me ſo far augmented his grief, that he would often ſay, *What have I done when I charged you to come aſhore to me again, your dutifulneſs to me hath brought you to be a Captive. I am old and cannot long hold out, but you may live to ſee many days of Sorrow, if the mercy of God do not prevent it. But my prayers to God for you ſhall not be wanting, that for this cauſe he would viſit you with his Mercy, and beſtow on you a Bleſſing.* They both fall Sick.

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Part. IV.

Deep Grief seizes the Captain.

My Father's Ague lasted not long, but deep grief daily more and more increased upon him, which so over-whelmed even his very heart, that with many a bitter sigh he used to utter these words, *These many years even from my youth have I used the Seas, in which time the Lord God hath delivered me from a multitude of Dangers*; rehearsing to me what great Dangers he had been in, in the *Straits* by the *Turks* and by other Enemies, and also in many other places, too large here to insert, and always how merciful God was to him in delivering him out of them all, *So that he never knew what it was to be in the hand of an Enemy*; *But now in his old Age, when his head was grown grey, to be a Captive to the Heathen, and to leave his Bones in the Eastern Parts of the World, when it was his hopes and intention, if God permitted him to finish this Voyage, to spend and end the residue of his days at home with his Children in his Native Countrey, and to settle me in the Ship in his stead; the thoughts of these things did even break his heart.*

Their Sickness continues.

Upwards of three Months my Father lay in this manner upon his Bed, having only under him a Mat and the Carpet he sat upon in the Boat when he came ashore, and a small Quilt I had to cover him withall. And I had only a Mat upon the Ground and a Pillow to lay on, and nothing to cover me but the Cloths on my back: but when I was cold, or that my Ague came upon me, I used to make a Fire, Wood costing nothing, but the fetching.

Their Boy's disobedience adds to their trouble.

We had a *black Boy* my Father brought from *Porto Nova* to attend upon him, who seeing his Master to be a Prisoner in the hands of the People of his own Complexion, would not now obey his Command, further than what agreed unto his own humour, neither was it then as we thought in our Power to compel or make him; but it was our ignorance. As for me, my Ague now came to a settled course; that is, once in three days, and so continued for Sixteen Months time.

His excessive sorrow.

There appearing now to us no probability, whereupon to build any hopes of Liberty, the sence of it struck my Father into such an Agony and strong Passion of Grief, that once I well remember in Nine days time nothing came into his mouth, but cold water; neither did he in three Months together ever rise up out of his Bed, but when the course of Nature required it: always groaning and sighing in a most piteous manner: which for me to hear and see come from my dear Father, my self also in the same Condition, did almost break my heart. But then I felt that Doctrine most true, which I had read out of Mr. *Roger*'s Book, *That God is most sweet, when the world is most bitter.*

In this manner my Father lay until the Ninth of *February* $16\frac{66}{67}$. By which time he was consumed to an *Anatomy*, having nothing left but Skin to cover his Bones; yet he often would say, *That the very sound of Liberty would so revive him, that it would put strength into his Limbs.* But it was not the will of him, to whom we say, *Thy will be done*, to have it so.

His Discourse and charge to his Son before his Death.

The evening before his Death, he called me to come near his Bed side, and to sit down by him, at which time also I had a strong Feavor upon me. This done, he told me, *That he sensibly felt his life departing from him, and was assured that this Night God would deliver him out of this Captivity, and that he never thought in all his Lifetime that Death could be so easie and welcom to any Man, as God had made*

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made it to be to him, and the joyes he now felt in himself he wanted utterance to express to me. He told me, *These were the last words, that ever he should speak to me, and bid me well regard and be sure to remember them, and tell them to my Brother and Sister, if it pleased God, as he hoped it would, to bring us together in* England; *where I should find all things settled to my contentation*, relating to me after what manner he had settled his Estate by Letters which he sent from *Cotiar*. Chap. 2.

In the first place and above all, He charged me to serve God, and with a circumspect care to walk in his ways, and then, he said, *God would bless me and prosper me. And next,* he bad me *have a care of my Brother and Sister.* And lastly, *He gave me a special charge to beware of strong Drink, and lewd Company, which as by Experience many had found, would change me into another man, so that I should not be my self. It deeply grieved him,* he said, *to see me in Captivity in the prime of my years, and so much the more because I had chosen rather to suffer Captivity with him than to disobey his Command. Which now he was heartily sorry for, that he had so commanded me, but bad me not repent of obeying the command of my Father; seeing for this very thing,* he said, *God would bless me*, and bid me *be assured of it, which he doubted not of*, viz. *That God Almighty would deliver me*; which at that time I could not tell how to conceive, seeing but little sign of any such Matter. But blessed be the Name of my most gracious God, who hath so bountifully sustained me ever since in the Land of my Captivity, and preserved me alive to see my Deceased Father's word fulfilled! And truly I was so far from repenting, that I had obeyed the Command of my Father, and performed the Oath and Promise I made unto him upon it, that it rather rejoyced me to see that God had given me so much Grace.

But tho it was a trouble to him, that by his means I was thus made a Captive; yet *it was a great Comfort to him,* he said, *to have his own Son sit by him on his Death-bed, and by his hands to be Buried, whereas otherwise he could expect no other but to be eaten by Dogs or wild Beasts.* Then he gave me order concerning his Burial, *That having no winding sheet, I should pull his Shirt over his head, and slip his Breeches over his feet, and so wrap him up in the Mat he layd upon:* and then ceased speaking, and fell into a Slumber. This was about Eight or Nine a Clock in the Evening, and about Two or Three in the Morning he gave up the Ghost, *Feb.* the Ninth, 1660. being very sensible unto the very instant of his Departure. His Death.

According to his own appointment with my own hands I wrapped him up ready for the Grave; my self being very sick and weak, and as I thought ready to follow after him. Having none but the black Boy with me, I bad him ask the People of the Town for help to carry my Father to the Grave, because I could not understand their Language. Who immediately brought forth a great Rope they used to tye their Cattle withal, therewith to drag him by the Neck into the Woods, saying, *They could afford me no other help, unless I would pay for it.* This Insolency of the Heathen grieved me much to see, neither could I with the Boy alone do what was necessary for his Burial, though we had been able to carry the Corps, having not wherewithal to dig a Grave, and the ground very dry and hard. Yet it was And Burial.

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Part IV. some comfort to me that I had so much Ability as to hire one to help; which at first I would not have spared to have done, had I known their meaning.

The Place where he lyes. By this means I thank God, in so decent a manner as our present condition would permit, I laid my Father's Body in the Grave. Most of which I digged with my own hands; the place being in a Wood, on the North-side of a Corn Field, where heretofore we had used often to walk, going up to *Handapoul*: that Division, as I have said, being called *Bonder Cooswat*, because formerly it had belonged to the Revenues or Jointure of the Queen, *Bonder* implying something relating to the King. It lyes towards the Northwest of the middle of the Island in the County of *Hotcurly*.

Thus was I left Desolate, Sick, and in Captivity, having no earthly Comforter, none but only He who looks down from Heaven to hear the groaning of the Prisoners, and to shew himself a Father of the Fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.

Upon the Captain's death, a Message sent his Son from Court. The News of my Father's Death being carried to Court, presently two Messengers were sent from thence to see me, and to know of me, How, and in what manner my Father died, and what he had left. Which was a *Gold Ring*, a *Pagoda*, and some two or three *Dollars* and a few old Cloths; God knows but a very little, yet it feared me not a little, fearing they would take it away from me, and my want being so great; but they had no such order nor intent. But the chief occasion of their coming was to renew the former order unto the People of that Town, that they should be kind to me and give me good Victuals, lest I might dye also as my Father had done. So for a while I had better entertainment than formerly.

CHAP. III.

How I lived after my Father's Death. And of the Condition of the rest of the Englisn: *and how it fared with them. And of our Interview.*

His chief employment is Reading. I Still remained where I was before, having none but the *black Boy*, and my *Ague* to bear me Company. Never found I more pleasure in Reading, Meditating and Praying than now. For there was nothing else could administer to me any Comfort, neither had I any other Business to be occupied about. I had read my two Books so often over, that I had them almost by heart. For my custom was after Dinner to take a Book and go into the Fields and sit under a Tree, reading and meditating until Evening; excepting the Day when my Ague came, for then I could scarce hold up my head. Often have I prayed as *Elijah* under the *Juniper Tree*, that God would take away my life, for it was a burthen to me.

He loses his Ague. At length it pleased God my Ague began to be a little moderate; and so by degrees it wore away, after it had held me sixteen Months.

Provisions

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Chap. 3.

How he met with an *English* Bible in that Countrey

Provisions falling short with me, tho Rice I thank God, I never wanted, and Monies also growing low; as well to help out a Meal as for Recreation, sometimes I went with an Angle to catch small Fish in the Brooks, the aforesaid Boy being with me. It chanced as I was Fishing, an old Man passed by, and seeing me, asked of my Boy, *If I could read in a Book.* He answered, *Yes. The reason I ask*, said the old Man, *is because I have one I got when the* Portugueze *lost* Columbo, *and if your Master please to buy it, I will sell it him.* Which when I heard of, I bad my Boy go to his House with him, which was not far off, and bring it to me to see it, making no great account of the matter, supposing it might be some *Portugueze* Book.

The Boy having formerly served the *English*, knew the Book, and as soon as he had got it in his hand came running with it, calling out to me, *It is a Bible.* It startled me to hear him mention the name of a *Bible.* For I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one. Upon which I flung down my Angle and went to meet him. The first place the Book opened in after I took it in my hand, was the Sixteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, and the first place my eye pitched on, was the Thirtieth and one and Thirtieth Verses, where the Jailor asked S. *Paul*, *What must I do to be saved? And he answered saying, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved and thine house.*

Struck into a great Passion at the sight of the Book.

The sight of this Book so rejoiced me, and affrighted me together, that I cannot say, which Passion was greater, the *joy*, for that I had got sight of a *Bible*, or the *fear*, that I had not enough to buy it, having then but one *Pagoda* in the World, which I willingly would have given for it, had it not been for my Boy, who dissuaded me from giving so much, alledging my Necessity for Money many other ways, and undertaking to procure the Book for a far meaner price, provided I would seem to slight it in the sight of the old Man. This counsel after I considered I approved of, my urgent Necessities earnestly craving, and my Ability being but very small to relieve the same: and however, I thought, I could give my piece of Gold at the last cast, if other means should fail.

I hope the *Readers* will excuse me, that I hold them so long upon this single passage, For it did so affect me then, that I cannot lightly pass it over as often as I think of it, or have occasion to mention it.

The sight indeed of this Bible so overjoyed me, as if an Angel had spoke to me from Heaven. To see that my most gracious God had prepared such an extraordinary Blessing for me; which I did, and ever shall look upon as miraculous, to bring unto me a Bible in my own Native Language, and that in such a remote part of the World, where his Name was not so much as known, and where any *English* Man was never known to have been before. I looked upon it, as somewhat of the same nature with the *Ten Commandments* he had given the *Israelites* out of Heaven; it being the thing for want whereof I had so often mourned, nay and shed tears too; and than the enjoyment whereof there could be no greater joy in the world to me.

He casts with himself how to get it.

Upon the sight of it I left off Fishing, God having brought a *Fish* to me, that my Soul had longed for; and now how to get it and enjoy the same, all the Powers of my Soul were employed. I gave God hearty

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Part IV. hearty thanks that he had brought it so near me, and most earnestly prayed that he would bestow it on me. Now, it being well towards Evening, and not having wherewithal to buy it about me, I departed home, telling the old Man, that in the Morning I would send my Boy to buy it of him.

All that Night I could take no rest for thinking on it, fearing lest I might be disappointed of it. In the Morning as soon as it was day, I sent the Boy with a knit Cap he had made for me to buy the Book, praying in my heart for good success, which it pleased God to grant: For that Cap purchased it, and the Boy brought it to me to my great joy, which did not a little comfort me over all my Afflictions.

Where the rest of the *English* were bestowed.

Having said all this concerning my *Father* and *my Self*, it will be time now to think of the rest of our poor Countreymen, and to see what is become of them. They were carried into the County of *Hotteracourly*, Westward from the City of *Cande*, and placed singly according to the King's Order aforesaid, some four, some six Miles distant one from the other. It was the King's Command concerning them that the People should give them Victuals, and look after them. So they carried each man from house to house to eat, as their turns came to give them Victuals, and where they Supped there they Lodged that Night. Their Bedding was only a Mat upon the Ground.

Kept from one another a good while, but after permitted to see each other.

They knew not they were so near to one another a great while; till at length Almighty God was pleased by their grief and heaviness to move those Heathen to Pity and take Compassion on them: So that they did bring some of them to one another. Which joy was but Abortive, for no sooner did they begin to feel the Comfort of one anothers Company, but immediately their Keepers called upon them to go from whence they came: fearing they might consult and run away, altho *Columbo* the neareſt Port they could fly to was above two days Journey from them. But as it is with wild Beasts beginning to grow tame, their Liberty encreaseth: So it happened to our Men; so that at length they might go and see one another at their pleasures; and were less and less watched and regarded. And seeing they did not attempt to run away, they made no matter of it, if they stayed two or three days one with the other.

No manner of work laid upon them.

They all wondered much to see themselves in this Condition, to be kept only to eat, and the People of the Countrey giving it unto them, daily expecting when they would put them to work, which they never did, nor dared to do. For the King's order was to feed them well only, and to look after them until he pleased to send for them. This after some time made them to change their minds, and not to think themselves *Slaves* any more, but the Inhabitants of the Land to be their Servants, in that they laboured to sustain them.

Which made them to begin to Domineer, and would not be content unless they had such Victuals as pleased them, and oftentimes used to throw the Pots, Victuals and all at their heads that brought them, which they patiently would bear.

They begin to pluck up their hearts.

And as they lived here longer, they knew better what Privileges they had in belonging unto the King, and being maintained by virtue of his Command. And their Privileges they made use of to no purpose, as I shall relate an instance or two by and by; and shewed their *English* Metal.

Victuals

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Victuals was the only thing allowed them, but no *Cloths*. By this time the Cloths they had were almost worn out. This put them to a study what course to take to procure more, when those on their backs were gone. The readiest way that they could devise was this, that whereas they used to take their Victuals brought to them ready *dressed*, they should now take them *raw*; and so to pinch somewhat out of their Bellies, to save to buy Cloths for their Backs. And so accordingly they concluded to do: and by the favour that God gave them in the sight of the People, by alledging the Innocency of their Cause, and the Extremity of their present Condition, having not the least ability to help or relieve themselves, they consented to give them two Measures of Rice a day each man. One of which is as much as any man can eat in a *day*, so that the other was to serve for advance towards Cloths. For besides Rice, they gave them to eat with it Salt, Pepper, Limes, Herbs, Pumpkins, Coker-Nuts, Flesh a little. These and such like things were their constant fare.

Chap. 3.

What course they took for Cloths.

Their fare.

And thus they made a shift to live for some years, until some of them had an insight in knitting Caps, by whom all afterwards learned, and it proved to be the chief means and help we all had to relieve our wants. The ordinary price we sold these Caps for, was Nine pence a piece in value *English* Money, the Thread standing us in about three pence. But at length, we plying hard our new Learned Trade, Caps began to abound, and Trading grew dead, so that we could not sell them at the former price: which brought several of our Nation to great want.

What Employment they afterwards followed.

The *English* began now to pluck up their hearts, and tho they were entred into a new Condition, they kept their old Spirits, especially considering they were the King's Men, and quartered by his special order upon the People. When they had obtained to have their Allowance raw, if any brought them not their full due, they would go in and Plunder their Houses of such Goods as they found there, and keep them until they came and brought them their compleat allowance to redeem their Goods back again.

How the English Domineered.

Some of our *English* men have proceeded further yet. One for example went to buy Pots of a *Potter*. Who because he would not let him have them at his own price fell to quarrel, in which the *English* man met with some blows. Which he complained of to the Magistrate, as being a Person that belonged unto the King, and therefore claimed better usage. And the Magistrate condemned the *Potter* as guilty in lifting up his hand against him, and sent some of his Soldiers to bind him, and then bad the *English* man go and content himself by paying him in the same Coin again, as he had served our Countreyman; which he did until he was satisfied, and moreover, ordered him to take the Pots he came to buy and pay nothing. But the Law was not so satisfied neither, for the Soldiers laid on many blows besides.

What Satisfaction one of them received from a Potter.

Another time at a certain Feast, as they were drinking and wanting Wine, they sent Money to buy more; but the Seller refused to give it them for their Money. Which they took so hainously, that they unanimously concluded to go and take it by force. Away they went each man with his Staff in his hand, and entred the House and began to Drink; which the People not liking of, gathered their Forces toge-

A scuffle between the English and Natives.

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Part IV.

ther, and by blows began to resist them. But the *English* men bravely behaved themselves, and broke several of their Pates. Who with the Blood about their Ears went to the City to complain to the great Men. They demanded of them, *If they had ever sold them Wine before.* They answered, *Yes.* They asked them again, *Why then did they refuse to sell them now?* And that they were well served by the *English* for denying them drink for their Money: and so sent them away laughing at them. Our Men got two or three black and blew Blows, but they came home with their Bellies full of Drink for their pains.

The Author after a year sees his Countreymen.

But to return unto my self. It was a full year after my Father died, before I had sight of any of my Countreymen and Fellow Prisoners. Then *John Gregory* with much ado obtained leave to come and see me: which did exceedingly rejoyce me. For a great Satisfaction it was, both to see a Countreyman, and also to hear of the welfare of the rest. But he could not be permitted to stay with me above one day. Until then, I knew not punctually where the rest of my Countreymen were, but having heard that they were within a days Journey of me, I never ceased importuning the People of the Town where I dwelt, to let me go and see them. Which tho very loath, yet at last they granted. Being arrived at the neareſt *English* man's House, I was joyfully received, and the next day he went and called some of the rest of our Countreymen that were near. So that there were some seven or eight of us met together.

Their Conference and Entertainment.

We gave God thanks for his great Mercies towards us, being then, as we did confess, in a far better Condition than we could have expected. They were now no more like the Prisoners I left them, but were become House-keepers, and Knitters of Caps, and had changed their Habit from Breeches to Clouts like the *Chingulays.* They entertained me with very good chear in their Houses beyond what I did expect.

He consults with his Countreymen for a future livelyhood.

My Money at the same time almost gone, and Cloaths in the same condition, it was high time for me now to take some course in hand to get more. Therefore I took some advice with them about Knitting, my Boy having Skill therein. Likewise they advised me to take my Victuals raw, wherein they found great Profit. For all this while here being no signs of releasing us, it concerned me now to bethink my self how I should live for the future. For neither had I, any more than my Countreymen, any allowance for Cloths, but Victuals only.

Having stayed here some two or three days, we did take leave of one another, hoping to see one another oftner, since now we knew each others Habitations: and I departed to my House, having a Keeper with me.

The difficulty he met with of having raw Rice.

By this time I began to speak the Language of the Countrey. Whereby I was inabled the better to speak my mind unto the People that brought me my Victuals. Which was henceforward not to boil my Rice, but to bring it raw according to the quantity that the other *English* men had. This occasioned a great deal of disputing and reasoning between us. They alledged, *That I was not as they, being the Captain's Son, and they but his Servants, and therefore that it was ordered*

by

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by the great Men at Court, that my Victuals should be daily brought unto me, whereas they went always from house to house for theirs: Neither was it fitting for me, they said, *to imploy my self in such an Inferior Office as to dress my own Meat, being a Man that the King had notice of by Name, and very suddenly before I should be aware of it, would send for me into the Presence, where I should be highly promoted to some Place of Honour.* In the mean time, they told me, as pretending to give me good counsel, *That it was more for my credit and repute to have my Provisions brought unto me ready Dressed as they were before.* Chap. 3.

He reasons with the People about his allowance.

Altho I was yet but a *Novice* in the Countrey, and knew not much of the People, yet plain reason told me, that it was not so much for my good and credit that they pleaded, as for their own benefit. Wherefore I returned them this answer, *That if as they said I was greater in quality than the rest, and so held in their Estimation, it would be but reason to demand a greater allowance, whereas I desired no more than the other English men had. And as for the toyl and trouble in dressing of it, that would be none to me, for my Boy had nothing else to do.* And then I alledged several inconveniencies in bring ng my Victuals ready boiled; as first, that it was not dressed according to my Diet; and many times not brought in due Season, so that I could not eat when I was an hungry. And the last and chief reason of all was, that I might save a little to serve my Necessity of Clothing: and rather than want Cloths for my Back, I must pinch a little out of my Belly, and so both go share and share like. And so at length, thanks be to God, I obtained, tho with much ado, to get two Measures of Rice *per* day for my self, and one for my Boy; also Coker-nuts, Pumpkins, Herbs, Limes, and such like enough, besides Pepper and Salt; and sometimes Hens, Eggs, or Flesh: Rice being the main thing they stand upon, for other things they refuse not to give what they have.

He builds him an House.

Now having settled all Business about my allowance, my next concern was to look after an House more convenient, for my present one was too small to dress my Victuals in, and to sleep in too. Thereabouts was a Garden of *Coker-nut Trees*, belonging unto the King, a pleasant situation; this place I made choice of to build me a House in. And discovering my desire to the People, they consented, and came and built it for me: but before it was finished, their occasions called them away, but my Boy and I made an end of it, and whitened the Walls with *Lime*, according to my own Countrey fashion. But in doing this I committed a Capital Offence: for none may white their Houses with *Lime*, that being peculiar to Royal Houses and Temples. But being a Stranger nothing was made of it, because I did it in ignorance: had it been a Native that had so done, it is most probable it would have cost him his Head, or at the least a great Fine.

He follows business and thrives.

Being settled in my new House, I began to keep Hogs and Hens; which by God's Blessing thrived very well with me, and were a great help unto me. I had also a great benefit by living in this Garden. For all the Coker-nuts that fell down they gave me, which afforded me Oyl to burn in the Lamp, and also to fry my meat in. Which Oyl being new is but little inferior to this Countrey Butter. Now I learned to knit Caps, which Skill I quickly attained

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Part IV. unto, and by God's Bleſſing upon the ſame, I obtained great help and relief thereby.

Some attempted running away, but were catched.

In this manner we all lived, ſeeing but very little ſign that we might build upon, to look for Liberty. The chief of our hopes of it was, that in proceſs of time when we were better acquainted we might run away. Which ſome of our People attempted to do too ſoon, before they knew well which way to go, and were taken by the Inhabitants. For it is the cuſtom of the *Chingulays* to ſuſpect all *white People*, they meet travailing in the Countrey, to be *Runaways*; and to examine them: and if they cannot give ſatisfactory anſwers, they will lay hold of them and carry them back unto the City. Where they will keep them Priſoners under a guard of Soldiers in an open Houſe like a Barn with a little Victuals ſometimes, and ſometimes with none at all. Where they have no other remedy to help themſelves but Begging. And in this Condition they may lye perhaps for their Life time, being ſo kept for a Spectacle unto the People.

Little incouragement for thoſe that bring back Runnaways.

Tho the common way whereby the King gratifies ſuch as catch Runawayes and bring them up, is not over acceptable. For they are appointed to feed and watch them until he calls for them to be brought before him. At which time his promiſe is bountifully to reward them. But theſe Promiſes I never knew performed. Neither doth he perhaps ever think of it after. For when the King is made acquainted with the matter, the men that have brought up the Priſoner are in a manner as bad Priſoners themſelves, not daring to go home to their Houſes without his leave, but there they muſt remain. After ſome years ſtay, the common manner is, for them to give a Fee unto the Governor of the Countrey, and he will licence them to go home, which they muſt be contented with inſtead of the promiſed reward.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning ſome other Engliſh men detained in that Countrey.

The *Perſia Merchant's* men Captives before us.

IN the ſame Captivity with our ſelves on this Iſland, was another Company of *Engliſh* Men, who were taken about a year and an half before us, *viz.* in the year MDCLVIII. They were Thirteen in number, whoſe names were as follow, *Viz.* Mr. *William Vaſſal*, *John Merginſon*, *Thomas March*, *Thomas Kirby*, *Richard Jelf*, *Gamaliel Gardiner*, *William Day*, *Thomas Stapleton*, *Henry Man*, *Hugh Smart*, *Daniel Holſtein*, an *Hamburger*, *James Gony*, and *Henry Bingham*. The occaſion of their Seizure was thus. The Ship theſe Men belonged unto was the *Perſia Merchant*, Capt. *Francis Johnſon* Commander, which was loſt upon the *Maldives* Iſlands. But they eſcaped in their Boats, and paſſing along by this Land went on ſhore to recruit and buy Proviſions, and ſo were taken. The *Chingulays* that took them Plundered them of what they had, except their Cloths. Yet one of them, *John Merginſon* by name, having cunningly hid his Money about him,

Plundred by the Natives.

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him, saved it from the Heathen, but from his own Countrymen he could not, some of whom knowing of it set upon him and robbed him of it. But it did them little good, for the King hearing of it sent and robbed the Robbers. Chap. 4.

These men thus seized were carried up before the King. Of whom he demanded, whether the *English* had Wars with the *Hollanders*. They answered, *No*. Or, if the *English* could beat them. They answered, *They could and had done it lately*. Then he gave order to give them all some Cloths, and to Mr. *William Vassal*, being the chief of them, a double Portion. And out of them made choice of two Lads; whom afterwards he sent and took into his Court. Their honours and their ends we shall see by and by. They were all placed in the City of *Cande*, and each of them had a new Mat given them to sleep on, and their Diet was Victuals dressed and brought them twice a day from the King's own Palace. They had Cloths also distributed to them another time. Brought up to the King.

So that these men had the advantage of us. For we neither had Mats nor Cloths, nor had the honour of being ever brought into the King's Presence.

This civil Reception upon their first coming up into the City, put these *Persia Merchant-men* in hope, that the King would give them their Liberty. There was at that time an old *Portugueze Father*, Padre *Vergonse* by name, living in the City. With him they discoursed concerning the probability of their Liberty, and that the favours the King had shewn them seemed to be good signs of it: but he told them the plain truth, that it was not customary there to release *white Men*. For saying which, they railed at him, calling him *Popish Dog*, and *Jesuitical Rogue*, supposing he spoke as he wished it might be. But afterward to their grief they found it to be true as he told them. They hoped to obtain Liberty, but were mistaken.

Their entertainment was excellently good according to the poor condition of the Countrey, but they thought it otherwise, very mean and not according to the King's order. Therefore that the King might be informed how they were abused, each man took the Limb of an *Hen* in his hand, and marched rank and file in order thro the Streets with it in their hands to the Court, as a sign to the great Men, whereby they might see, how illy they were served; thinking hereby the King might come to hear of their misusage, and so they might have order to be fed better afterwards. But this proved Sport to the Noblemen who well knew the fare of the Countrey, laughing at their ignorance, to complain where they had so little cause. And indeed afterwards they themselves laughed at this action of theirs, and were half ashamed of it, when they came to a better understanding of the Nature of the Countreys Diet. A ridiculous action of these Men.

Yet notwithstanding being not used to such short Commons of Flesh, tho they had Rice in abundance, and having no Money to buy more, they had a desire to kill some Cows, that they might eat their Bellies full of Beef, but made it somewhat a point of Conscience, whether it might be lawful or not, to take them without leave. Upon which they apply themselves to the old Father aboveſaid, desiring him to solve this Case of Conscience. Who was very ready to give them a Dispensation. And told them, *That forasmuch as the* Chingulayes *were their Enemies and had taken their Bodies, it was very lawful* They had a mind to Beef, and how they got it.

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Part. IV. *ful for them to satisfie their Bodies with their Goods.* And the better to animate them in this design, bid them bring him a piece, that he might partake with them. So being encouraged by the old Father, they went on boldly in their intended Business.

A Passage of the Courage of the Men.

Now if you would have an account of the Metal and Manfulness of these men, as you have already had a taft of ours, take this passage. The *Jack* Fruit the Kings Officers often gather whersoever it grows, and give to the Kings Elephants, and they may gather it in any mans grounds without the Owners leave, being for the Kings use. Now these *English* men were appointed to dwell in an house, that formerly belonged unto a Noble man, whom the King had cut off, and seized upon it. In the ground belonging to this House stood a *Jack* Tree full of Fruit. Some of the Kings men came thither to gather some of them to feed the Elephants. But altho the *English* had free liberty to gather what they could eat or desire, yet they would permit none but themselves to meddle with them, but took the Officers by the shoulders and turned them out of the Garden, altho there were more a great many than they could tell what to do with. The Great men were so Civil, that notwithstanding this Affront, they laid no Punishment upon them. But the Event of this was, that a few days after they were removed from this house to another, where was a Garden but no Trees in it. And because they would not allow the King a few, they lost all themselves.

Two of his Company taken into Court.

I mentioned before two Lads of this Company, whom the King chose out for his own service, their Names were *Hugh Smart* and *Henry Man.* These being taken into his Court, obtained great Favour and Honour from him, as to be always in his presence, and very often he would kindly and familiarly talk with them concerning their Country, what it afforded; and of their King and his Strength for War. Thus they lived in his Favour for some time.

The one out of Favour, his end.

Till at length *Hugh Smart*, having a desire to hear news concerning *England*, privatly got to the Speech of a *Dutch Embassadour.* Of which the King had notice, but would not believe it, supposing the information was given him out of Envy to his Favorite, but commanded privately to watch him, and if he went again, to catch him there. Which he not being aware of, went again, and was catched. At which the King was very angry. For he allows none to come to the speech of *Ambassodours*, much less one that served in his presence, and heard and saw all that passed in Court. But yet the King dealt very favourably with him. For had it been a *Chingulay*, there is nothing more sure, than that he should have dyed for it. But this *English* mans Punishment was only to be sent away and kept a Prisoner in the Mountains without Chains, and ordered him to be well used there. Where indeed he lived better content than in the Kings Palace. He took a Wife here and had one Son by her, and afterwards dyed by a mischance, which was thus. As he was gathering a *Jack* from the Tree by a Crock, it fell down upon his side, and bruised him so that it killed him.

The other out of Favour, and lamentable Death.

Henry Man the other, yet remained in Favour, and was promoted to be Chief over all the Kings Servants that attended on him in his Palace. It happened one Day, that he broke one of the Kings *China Dishes.* Which made him so sore afraid, that he fled for Sanctuary into a *Vehar*, a Temple where the Chief Priests always dwel, and

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and hold their conſultations. This did not a little diſpleaſe the King; this Act of his ſuppoſing him to be of Opinion that thoſe Prieſts were able to ſecure him againſt the Kings diſpleaſure. However he ſhewing Reverence to their Order would not violently fetch him from thence; bnt ſent a kind Meſſage to the *Engliſh* man, bidding him *not to be afraid for ſo ſmall a matter as a Diſh* (And it is probable had he not added this fault he might have eſcaped without Puniſhment) *and that he ſhould come and Act in his place as formerly.* At which Meſſage he came forth, and immediatly, as the King had given order, they took hold of him and bound his Arms above the Elbows behind, which is their faſhion of binding men. In which manner he lay all that Night, being bound ſo hard that his Arms ſwelled, and the Ropes cut throw the Fleſh into the Bones. The next day the King Commanded a Noble man to looſe the Ropes off his Arms, and put Chains on his Legs, and keep him in his Houſe, and there feed him and cure him. Chap. 4.

Thus he lay ſome Six Months, and was cured, but had no Strength in his Armes, and then was taken into his Office again, and had as much Favour from the King as before. Who ſeemed much to lament him for his folly, thus to procure his own ruine.

Not long after he again offended the King. Which as it is reported was thus. A *Portugueze* had been ſent for to the City to be employed in the Kings Service; to which Service he had no Stomach at all, and was greatly afraid of, as he juſtly might be. For the avoiding therefore of it he ſends a Letter to this *Engliſh* Courtier, whein he entreated him to uſe his intereſt to excuſe him to the King. The *Engliſh* man could not read the Letter being writ in the *Portugueze* Tongue, but gave it to another to read. Which when he knew the contents of thought it not ſafe for him to meddle in that buſineſs, and ſo concealed the Letter. The perſon to whom the *Engliſh* man had given it to read, ſome time after informed the King thereof. Whereupon both the *Portugueze* that ſent the Letter, and the *Engliſh* man to whom it was ſent, and the Third Perſon that read it, becauſe he informed no ſooner, were all three at one time and in one place torn in pieces by *Elephants*.

The King ſends ſpecial order concerning their good uſage.

After this Execution the King ſuppoſing that we might be either diſcontented in our ſelves, or diſcountenanced by the People of the Land, ſent ſpecial order to all parts where we dwelt, that we ſhould be of good cheer, and not be diſcouraged, neither abuſed by the Natives.

Thus jealous is the King of Letters, and allows none to come or go. We have ſeen how dear it coſt poor *Henry Man*. Mr. *William Vaſſal*, another of the *Perſia-Merchant* men, was therefore more wary of ſome Letters he had, and came off better.

Mr. *Vaſſals* prudence upon the receit of Letters.

This man had received ſeveral Letters, and it was known abroad that he had. Which he fearing leſt the King ſhould hear of, thought it moſt convenient and ſafe to go to the Court and preſentt hem himſelf; that ſo he might plead in his own Defence to the King. Which he did. He acknowledged to him that he had received Letters, and that they came to his hands a pretty while ago: but withall pretended excuſes and reaſons to clear himſelf. As firſt, that *when he received them, he knew not that it was againſt the Law and manner of the Countrey; and when he did know, he took Council of a Portugueze Prieſt,*

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Part. IV. *Prieſt*; (who was now dead) *being, old and as he thought well experienced in the Countrey. But he adviſed him to defer a while the carrying them unto the King until a more convenient ſeaſon. After this he did attempt, he ſaid, to bring them unto the King, but could not be permitted to have entrance thro the Watches: ſo that until now, he could not have opportunity to preſent them.*

The King bids him read his Letters.

The King at the hearing hereof, ſeemed not to be diſpleaſed in the leaſt, but bid him read them. Which he did in the *Engliſh* Language, as they were writ; and the King ſat very attentive as if he had underſtood every word. After they were read, the King gave *Vaſſal* a Letter he had intercepted, ſent to us from Sir *Edward Winter*, then Agent at Fort St. *George*; and asked the News and Contents thereof. Which Mr, *Vaſſal* informed him at large of. It was concerning the Victory we had gained over the *Dutch* when *Obdam* Admiral of *Holland* was ſlain, and concerning the number of our Ships in that Fight, being there ſpecified to be an Hundred and Fifty Sail. The King inquired much after the number of Guns and Men they carried. The number of Men he computed to be one Ship with another about Three Hundred *per Ship*. At that rate, the King demanded of him, how many that was in all. Which Mr. *Vaſſal* went about to caſt up in the Sand with his finger. But before he had made his Figures the King had done it by Head, and bid him deſiſt, ſaying it was 45000.

The King pleaſed to hear of *England* Victory over *Holland*.

This News of the *Hollanders* overthrow, and the *Engliſh* Victory much delighted the King: and he inquired into it very particularly. Then the King pretended he would ſend a Letter to the *Engliſh* Nation, and bad Mr. *Vaſſal* inform him of a Truſty Bearer. Which he was very forward to do, and named one of the beſt which he had made trial of. One of the Great men there preſent, objected againſt him, ſaying, he was inſufficient, and asked him, if he knew no other. At which *Vaſſal* ſuſpected their Deſign, which was to learn who had brought thoſe Letters to him; and ſo framed his anſwer accordingly, which was that he knew no other.

Private diſcourſe between the King and *Vaſſal*.

There was much other diſcourſe paſſed between the King and him at this time in the *Portugueze* Tongue. Which what it was I could never get out of him, the King having commanded him to keep it ſecret. And he ſaith, he hath ſworn to himſelf not to divulge it, till he is out of the Kings hands. At parting, the King told him, for Secrecy he would ſend him home privatly, or otherwiſe he would have diſmiſt him with Drums and Honour. But after this the King never ſent for him again. And the man, that he named as fit and able to carry the Kings Letter, was ſent away Priſoner to be kept in Chains in the Countrey. It is ſuppoſed, that they concluded him to have been the man that brought *Vaſſal* his Letters. And thus much of the Captivity and Condition of the *Perſia-Merchant* men.

CHAP.

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CHAP. V.

Concerning the means that were used for our Deliverance. And what happened to us in the Rebellion. And how we were setled afterwards.

ALl of us in this manner remained until the year MDCLXIV. At which time arrived a Letter on our behalf to the King from the Right Worshipful Sir *Edward Winter*, Governour of Fort St. *George*, and Agent there. The *Dutch* Embassadour also at that time by a Commission from the Governour of *Columba* treated with the King for us. With Sir *Edward*'s Message the King was much pleased, and with the *Dutch*'s mediation so prevailed with, that he promised he would send us away. Means made to the King for our Liberty.

Upon this, he commanded us all to be brought to the City. Whither when we came, we were very joyful not only upon the hopes of our Liberty, but also upon the sight of one another. For several of us had not seen the others since we were first parted. Here also we met with the *Persia Merchant* men, whom until this time we had not seen. So that we were nine and twenty *English* in all. Upon which they all met at the City.

Some few days after our Arrival at the City, we were all called to the Court. At which time standing all of us in one of the Palace Court-yards, the Nobles by command from the King came forth and told us, *that it was his Majesties Pleasure to grant unto us our Liberty, and to send us home to our Countrey, and that we should not any more look upon our selves as Prisoners or detained men.* At which we bowed our heads and thanked his Majesty. They told us moreover, *that the King was intended to send us either with the* Dutch *Embassadour, or by the Boat which Sir* Edward Winter *had sent; and that it was his Majesties good will to grant us our choice.* We humbly referred it to his Majesties pleasure. They answered, *his Majesty could and would do his pleasure, but his will was to know our minds.* After a short consultation we answered, *since it was his Majesties pleasure to grant us our choice*, with many Thanks and Obeisance we *chose to go with the* Dutch *Embassadour, fearing the Boats insufficiency*, she having, as we were well sensible, laid there a great while: and if we had chosen the Boat, the danger of going that way might have served them for a Put off to us, and a Plea to detain us still, out of care of us. And again, had we refused the Embassadours kindness at this time, for the future, if these things succeeded not with us now, we could never have expected any more aid or friendship from that Nation. Word sent them from the Court, that they had their Liberty.

In the next place they told us, *It was the Kings pleasure to let us understand, that all those that were willing to stay and serve his Majesty, should have very great rewards, as Towns, Monies, Slaves and places of Honour* conferred upon them. Which all in general refused. All in general refuse the King's service.

Then we were bidden to absent, while they returned our answers to the King. By and by there came Order to call us in one at a time, where the former promises were repeated to every one of us of great Favours, Honours and Rewards from the King to those that were willing to stay with him. And after each one had given his answer, he was sent into a corner in the Court, and then another called, and so

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Part. IV. all round one after another, they inquiring particularly concerning each mans trade and office; Handycrafts-men and Trumpetters being most desired by the King. VVe being thus particularly examined again, there was not one of us was tempted by the Kings rewards, but all in general refused the Kings honourable employment, choosing rather to to go our Native Countrey. By which we purchased the Kings Displeasure.

Commanded still to wait at the Palace. During which a Rebellion breaks out.

After this they told us, we must wait at the Palace gate dayly, it being the Kings pleasure, that we should make our personal appearance before him. In this manner we waited many days. At length happened a thing a thing which he least suspected, *viz.* a general Rebellion of his People against him. VVho assaulted his Palace in the Night: but their hearts failed them, daring not to enter into the Apartment where his Person was. For if they had had courage enough, they might have taken him there. For he stayed in his Palace until the Morning; and then fled into the Mountains, and escaped their hands, but more thro their cowardlines than his valour. This Rebellion I have related at large in the *second Part*, whither he that desires to know more of it may have recourse. Only I shall mention here a few things concerning our selves, who were gotten into the midst of these Broils and Combustions, being all of us now waiting upon the King in the City.

They are in the midst of it, and in great danger.

It was a great and marvellous mercy of Almighty God to bring us safe thro these dangers, for it so happened all along that we were in the very midst. Before they gave the Assault on the Kings Palace, they were consulting to lay hands on us, fearing lest we might be prejudicial to their Business, in joyning to the help and assistance of the King against them. For tho we were but few in comparison, yet the Name of *White men* was somewhat dreadful to them. Whereupon at first their Counsels were to cut us off. But others among them advised that it would be better to let us alone; *For that we being ignorant of their Designs*, as indeed we were, *and at quiet in our several Lodgings, could not be provided to hurt or indanger them. But otherwise if they should lay hands on us, it would certainly come to the Kings Ears, and Allarm him, and then all would be frustrated and overthrown.* This some of their own Party have related to us since. These Counsels were not given out of any secret good will ny of them bore to us (as I believe) but proceeded from the over-ruling hand of God, who put those things into their hearts for our safety and preservation. The People of the City whence the King fled, ran away also leaving their Houses and Goods behind them. Where we found good Prey and Plunder; being permittted to Ransack the Houses of all such as were fled away with the King.

The Rebels take the *English* with them.

The Rebels having driven away the King, and marching to the City of *Cande* to the Prince, carried us along with them; the Chief of their Party telling us *that we should now be of good cheer; for what they done upon very good advisement they had done, the Kings ill Government having given an occasion to it. Who went about to destroy both them & their Countrey*; and particularly insisted upon such things as might be most plausible to *Strangers*, such as, keeping Embassadours, discouraging Trade, detaining of Forainers that come upon his Land, besides his cruelties towards themselves that were his natural People. All which

they,

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they told us, *They had been informed was contrary to the Government of other Countries; and now so soon as their business was settled*, they assured us, *They would detain none that were minded to go to their own Countreys.* Chap. 5.

Being now at *Cande*, on *Christmas-Day* of all the days in the year, they sent, to call us to the Court, and gave us some Money and Cloths first, to make us the more willing to take Arms, which they intended then to deliver unto us, and to go with them upon a Design to fall upon the old King in the place whither he was fled. But in the very interim of time, God being merciful unto us, the Prince with his Aunt fled. Which so amazed and discouraged them, that the Money and Cloths which they were distributing to us and other Strangers to gain us over to them, they scattered about the Court and fled themselves. And now followed nothing but cutting one anothers Throats to make themselves appear the more Loyal Subjects, and make amends for their former Rebellion. They design to ingage the English with them.

We for our parts little thinking in what danger we were, fell in to scramble among the rest to get what we could of the Monies that were strewed about, being then in great necessity and want. For the allowance which formerly we had was in this Disturbance lost, and so we remained without it for some three Months, the want of which, this Money did help to supply. Having gotten what we could at the Court, we made way to get out of the hurly burly to our Lodgings; intending as we were Strangers and Prisoners, neither to meddle nor make on the one side or the other, being well satisfied, if God would but permit us quietly to sit, and eat such a *Christmas* Dinner together, as he had prepared for us. They resolve neither to meddle or make.

For our parts we had no other dealings with the Rebels, than to desire them to permit us to go to our Native Countrey, which Liberty they promised we should not want long. But being sent for by them to the Court, we durst not but go, and they giving us such things as we wanted, we could not refuse to take them. But the day being turned put us into great fear, doubting how the King would take it at our hands, from whom we knew this could not be hid. The day being turned, they fear the King.

Into our Houses we got safely. But no sooner were we there, but immediately we were called again by a great Man, who had drawn out his Men, and stood in the Field. This Man we thought had been one of the Rebels, who to secure himself upon this change, had intended to run away down to *Columbo* to the *Dutch*. Which made us repair to him the more cheerfully, leaving our Meat a roasting on the Spit. But it proved otherwise. For no sooner had he gotten us unto him, but he Proclaimed himself for the old King, and forthwith he and his Company taking us with him marched away to Fight or seize the Rebels, but meeting none went into the City, and there dismissed us, saying, *He would acquaint the King, how willing and ready we were to fight for him, if need had required*; altho, God knows, it was the least of our thoughts and intents, yet God brought it to pass for our good. For when the King was informed of what we had received of the Rebels, this piece of good Service that we had done, or rather supposed to have done, was also told unto him. At the hearing of which himself justified us to be innocent; saying, *Since my absence, who was there that would give them Victuals?* And, *It was mere* But he justifies them.

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Part IV. *want that made them to take what they did.* Thus the words of the King's own mouth acquitted us. And when the Sword devoured on every ſide, yet by the Providence of God not one hair of our heads periſhed.

They are driven to beg in the High-ways.

The Tumults being appeaſed, and the Rebellion vaniſhed, the King was ſettled in his Throne again. And all this happened in five days time. We were now greatly neceſſitated for food, and wanted ſome freſh Orders from the King's mouth for our future ſubſiſtence. So that having no other remedy, we were fain to go and lay in the High way that leads to the City a begging; for the People would not let us go any nearer towards the King, as we would have done. There therefore we lay, that the King might come to the knowledge of us, and give Command for our allowance again. By which means we obtained our purpoſe. For having laid there ſome two Months, the King was pleaſed to appoint our Quarters in the Countrey as formerly, not mentioning a word of ſending us away, as he had made us believe before the Rebellion.

Sent into new quarters there, and their Penſions ſettled again.

Now we were all ſent away indeed, but not into our own Countrey, but into new Quarters. Which being God would have to be no better, we were glad it was ſo well, being ſore a weary of laying in this manner. For for ſome three Months time we had no manner of allowance. We were all now placed one in a Town as formerly, together with the *Perſia Merchant* men alſo, who hitherto had lived in the City of *Cande*, and had their Proviſions brought them out of the King's Palace ready dreſſed. Theſe were now ſent away with us into the Countrey. And as ſtrict a charge was given for our good entertainment as before.

Fall to Trading, and have more freedom.

We were thus diſperſed about the Towns here one and there another, for the more convenient receiving our allowance, and for the greater eaſe of the People. And now we were far better to paſs than heretofore, having the Language, and being acquainted with the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People, and had the ſame proportion of Victuals, and the like reſpect as formerly. And now they fall into employments as they pleaſe, either Husbandry or Merchandizing, or knitting Caps, being altogether free to do what they will themſelves, and to go where they will, excepting running away: and for that end, we are not permitted to go down to the Sea, but we may travel all about the Countrey, and no man regards us. For tho the People ſome of the firſt years of our Captivity, would ſcarcely let us go any whither, and had an eye upon us afterwards, yet in proceſs of time all their Suſpitions of our going away wore off; eſpecially when ſeveral of the *Engliſh* had built them Houſes, and others had taken them Wives, by whom they had Children, to the number of eighteen living when I came away.

Having ſaid all this in general of the *Engliſh* People there, I will now continue a further account of *my ſelf*.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

A Continuation of the Author's particular Condition after the Rebellion. Purchaseth a piece of Land.

MY hap was to be quartered in a Countrey called *Handapon-down*, lying to the Westward of the City of *Cande*. Which place liked me very well, being much nearer to the Sea than where I dwelt before; which gave me some probable hopes, that in time I might chance to make an escape. But in the mean time to free my self from the Suspition of the People, who watched me by Night, and by Day, had an eye to all my actions, I went to work with the help of some of my Neighbors to Build me another House upon the Bank of a River, and intrenched it round with a Ditch, and Planted an Hedge: and so began to settle my self; and followed my business in Knitting and going about the Countries a Trading; seeming to be very well contented in this Condition. The Author at his new quarters builds him another House.

Lying so long at the City without allowance, I had spent all to some Seven shillings, which served me for a stock to set up again in these new Quarters. And by the Blessing of my most gracious God, which never failed me in all my Undertakings, I soon came to be well furnished with what that Countrey afforded: insomuch that my Neighbours and Townsmen no more suspected my running away; but earnestly advised me to marry, saying, *It would be an ease and help to me*, knowing that I then dressed my Victuals my self: having turned my Boy to seek his Fortune when we were at the City: They urged also, *That it was not convenient for a young man as I was to live so solitarily alone in a house: and if it should so come to pass that the King should send me hereafter to my Country, their manner of Marriage*, they said, *was not like ours, and I might without any Offence discharge my Wife, and go away.* The People counsel him to Marry.

I seemed not altogether to slight their counsel, that they might the less suspect I had any thoughts of mine own Countrey, but told them, *That as yet I was not sufficiently stocked*, and also, *That I would look for one that I could love*: tho in my heart I never purposed any such matter; but on the contrary, did heartily abhor all thoughts tending that way. Which he seemed to listen to.

In this place I lived two years; and all that time could not get one likely occasion of running for it. For I thought it better to forbear running too great a hazard by being over-hasty to escape, than to deprive my self of all hopes for the future, when time and experience would be a great help to me. Here he lived two years.

In the year MDCLXVI. the *Hollanders* came up and built a Fort just below me, there being but a ridge of Mountains between them and me. But tho so near, I could not come to them, a Watch being kept at every passage. The King sent down against them two great Commanders with their Armies, but being not strong enough to expel them, they lay in these Watches to stop them from coming up higher. The name of this Fort was called *Arrandery*. Which altho they could not prevent the *Dutch* from building at that time. Yet some years after A Fort built near him, but afterward taken by the King.

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Part IV

ter when they were not aware, they fell upon it and took it, and brought all the People of it up to *Cande*, where those that remained alive of them were, when I came from thence.

He and three more removed thence.

In this Countrey of *Hotteracourly*, where the *Dutch* had built this Fort, were four *Engliſh* men placed, whereof I was one. All whom the King immediately upon the News of the *Dutche's* Invaſion, ſent order to bring up out of the danger of the War into *Cande Uda*, fearing that which we were indeed intended to do, *viz.* to run away.

This Invaſion happening ſo unexpectedly and our remove ſo ſudden, I was forced to leave behind me that little Eſtate which God had given me, lying ſcattered abroad in *Betel-nuts*, the great Commodity of that Countrey, which I was then parting from: and much ado I had to get my Cloths brought along with me, the Enemies, as they called them, but my Friends being ſo near. And thus was I carried out of this Countrey as poor as I came into it, leaving all the fruits of my Labour and Induſtry behind me. Which called to my remembrance the words of *Job*. *Naked came I into this world, and naked ſhall I return: God gave and God hath taken away, bleſſed be the Name of the Lord.*

Settled in a diſmal place.

We all four were brought up together into a Town on the top of a Mountain called *Laggendenny*. Where I and my dear Friend and fellow Priſoner, and fellow Batchelor Mr. *John Loveland* lived together in one Houſe. For by this time not many of our People were as we, that is, ſingle men; but ſeeing ſo little hopes, deſpaired of their Liberty, and had taken Wives or Bedfellows.

At our firſt coming into this Town, we were very much diſmayed, it being one of the moſt diſmal places that I have ſeen upon that Land. It ſtands alone upon the top of a Mountain, and no other Town near it, and not above four or five Houſes in it. And oftentimes into this Town did the King uſe to ſend ſuch Malefactors as he was minded ſuddenly to cut off. Upon theſe accounts our being brought to this place could not but ſcare us, and the more, becauſe it was the King's ſpecial Order and Command to place us in this very Town.

A comfortable Meſſage from the King concerning us.

But this our trouble and dejection (thanks be to God) laſted but a day. For the King ſeemed to apprehend into what a fit of Fear and Sorrow this our Remove would caſt us, and to be ſenſible, how ſadly we muſt needs take it to change a ſweet and pleaſant Countrey, ſuch as *Handapondown* and the Countrey adjacent was, for this moſt ſad and diſmal Mountain. And therefore the next day came a comfortable Meſſage from the King's own mouth, ſent by no leſs Man than he, who had the chief Power and Command over thoſe People who were appointed to give us our Victuals, where we were. This Meſſage, which as he ſaid himſelf, he was ordered by the King to deliver to the People in our hearing, was this, *That they ſhould not think that we were Malefactors, that is, ſuch who having incurred the King's diſpleaſure were ſent to be kept Priſoners there, but men whom his Majeſty did highly eſteem, and meant to promote to great Honour in his Service, and that they ſhould reſpect us as ſuch, and entertain us accordingly. And if their ability would not reach thereunto, it was the King's Order,* he ſaid, *to bid them ſell their Cattel and Goods, and when that was done their Wives and Children, rather than we ſhould want of our due allowance:* which he ordered, ſhould be as formerly we uſed to have: and

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if we had not Houſes thatched, and ſufficient for us to dwell in, he ſaid, *We ſhould change, and take theirs.* Chap. 6.

This kind Order from the King coming ſo ſuddenly, did not a little comfort and encourage us. For then we did perceive the King's purpoſe and intent in placing us in thoſe remote Parts, was not to puniſh us, but them: that we might be his Inſtruments to Plague and take revenge of that People; who it ſeems had Plundred the King's Palace in the time of the late Rebellion, when he left it and fled; for this Town lies near unto the ſame: and their Office lying about the Court they had the fairer opportunity of Plundering it. For the Service they are to perform to the King, is to carry his *Pallenkine* when he pleaſeth to ride therein, and alſo to bring Milk every Morning to the Court, being Keepers of the King's Cattel. Placed there to puniſh the People for their Crime.

In this Town we remained ſome three years; by which time we were grown quite weary of the place, and the place and People alſo grown weary of us, who were but troubleſom Gueſts to them; for having ſuch great Authority given us over them, we would not loſe it; and being four of us in call one of another, we would not permit or ſuffer them to domineer over us. Being thus tired with one anothers Company, and the King's Order being of an old Date, we uſed all means we could to clear our ſelves of one another: often repairing unto the Court to ſeek to obtain a Licence that we might be removed and placed any where elſe. But there was none that durſt grant it, becauſe it was the King's peculiar Command, and ſpecial Appointment that we muſt abide in that very Town. Weary of this place.

During the time of our ſtay here, we had our Victuals brought us in good order and due ſeaſon: the Inhabitants having ſuch a charge given them by their Governour and he from the King, durſt not do otherwiſe. So that we had but little to do, only to dreſs and eat, and ſit down to knit.

I had uſed the utmoſt of my skill and endeavour to get a Licence to go down to my former Quarters, all things being now pretty well ſettled; hoping that I might recover ſome of my old Debts: but by no means could I obtain it. The denial of ſo reaſonable a deſire, put me upon taking leave. I was well acquainted with the way, but yet I hired a man to go with me, without which I could not get thro the Watches. For altho I was the Maſter and he the Man, yet when we came into the Watches, he was the Keeper and I the Priſoner. And by this means we paſſed without being ſuſpected. By a piece of Craft he gets down to his old Quarters.

Being come into my old Quarters, by pretending that this man was ſent down from the Magiſtrate to ſee that my Debts and Demands might be duely paid and diſcharged, I chanced to recover ſome of them, and the reſt gave over for loſt; for I never more looked after them. And ſo I began the world anew, and by the Bleſſing of God was again pretty well recruited before I left this Town. Began the world anew the third time.

In the time of my reſidence here, I chanced to hear of a ſmall piece of Land that was to be ſold. About which I made very diligent inquiry. For altho I was ſore a weary of living in this Town, yet I could not get out of it, not having other new Quarters appointed me, unleſs I could provide a place for my ſelf to remove to: which now God had put into my hand. As for the King's Command I dreaded it not much, having found by obſervation, that the King's Orders wear away Plots to remove himſelf.

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Part IV. away by time, and the neglect of them comes at last to be unregarded. However I was resolved to put it to a hazard, come what will.

Is incouraged to buy a piece of Land.

Altho I had been now some seven or eight years in this Land, and by this time came to know pretty well the Customs and Constitutions of the Nation, yet I would not trust my own knowledge, but to prevent the worst, I went to the Governor of that same Countrey where the Land lay, to desire his advice, whether or no I might lawfully buy that small piece of Land. He inquired, *Whose and what Land it was*, I informed him, *That it had been formerly dedicated to a Priest, and he at his death had left it to his Grandson: who for want was forced to sell it.* Understanding this, the Governor approved of the business, and encouraged me to buy it: saying, *That such kind of Lands only were lawful here to be bought and sold; and that this was not in the least litigious.*

The Situation and condition of it.

Having gotten both his consent and advice, I went on chearfully with my purchase. The place also liked me wondrous well; it being a point of Land, standing into a Corn Field, so that Corn Fields were on three sides of it, and just before my Door a little Corn ground belonging thereto, and very well watered. In the Ground besides eight *Coker-nut Trees*, there were all sorts of Fruit Trees the Countrey afforded. But it had been so long desolate, that it was all overgrown with Bushes, and no sign of a House therein.

Buys it.

The price of this Land was five and twenty *Larees*, that is five *Dollars*, a great Sum of Money in the account of this Countrey; yet thanks be to God, who had so far inabled me after my late and great loss, that I was strong enough to lay this down. The terms of Purchase being concluded on between us, a Writing was made upon a leaf after that Countrey manner, witnessed by seven or eight Men of the best Quality in the Town: which was delivered to me, and I paid the Money, and then took Possession of the Land. It lyes some ten Miles to the Southward of the City of *Cande* in the County of *Oudaneur*, in the Town of *Elledat*.

Builds an House on it.

Now I went about Building an House upon my Land, and was assisted by three of my Countreymen that dwelt near by, *Roger Gold*, *Ralph Knight*, and *Stephen Rutland*, and in short time we finished it. The Countrey People were all well pleased to see us thus busie our selves about buying of Land and Building of Houses, thinking it would ty our Minds the faster to their Countrey, and make us think the less upon our own.

Leaves *Laggendenny*.

Tho I had built my new House, yet durst I not yet leave my old Quarters in *Laggendenny*, but wait until a more convenient time fell out for that purpose. I went away therefore to my old home, and left my aforesaid three *English* Neighbours to inhabit in it in my absence. Not long after I found a fit season to be gone to my Estate at *Elledat*. And upon my going, the rest left the Town also, and went and dwelt elsewhere, each one where he best liked. But by this means we all lost a Privilege which we had before: which was that our Victuals were brought unto us, and now we were forced to go and fetch them our selves; the People alledging (true enough) that they were not bound to carry our Provisions about the Country after us.

Being

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Being settled in my new House, I began to plant my ground full of all sorts of Fruit Trees; and by the Blessing of God all grew and prospered, and yielded me great Plenty, and good increase, sufficient both for me, and for those that dwelt with me. For the three *English* men I left at my House when I departed back to *Laggendenny*, still lived with me. We were all single men; and we agreed very well together, and were helpful to one another. And for their help and assistance of me, I freely granted them Liberty to use and enjoy whatsoever the ground afforded, as much as my self. And with a joynt consent it was concluded amongst us, *That only single Men and Batchellors should dwell there, and such as would not be conformable to this present agreement, should depart and absent himself from our Society, and also forfeit his right and claim to the forementioned Privilege, that is, to be cut off from all benefit of whatsoever the Trees and Ground afforded.*

Chap. 6. Setled at his new purchase, with three more living with him.

I thought fit to make such a Covenant, to exclude women from coming in among us, to prevent all strife and dissention, and to make all possible Provision for the keeping up love and quietness among our selves.

In this manner we four lived together some two years very lovingly and contentedly, not an ill word passing between us. We used to take turns in keeping at home, while the rest went forth about their Business. For our house stood alone and no Neighbour near it. Therefore we always left one within. The rest of the *English* men lived round about us, some four or five miles distant, some more. So that we were, as it were, within reach one of another; which made us like our present Situation the more.

Thus we lived upon the Mountains, being round about us beset with watches, most of our People being now married: so that now all talk and suspition of our running away was laid aside. Neither indeed was it scarce possible. The effect of which was, that now we could walk from one to the other, or where we would upon the Mountains, no man molesting or disturbing us in the least. So that we began to go about a Pedling, and Trading in the Country farther towards the Northward, carrying our Caps about to sell.

Their freedom and Trade.

By this time two of our Company seeing but little hopes of Liberty, thought it too hard a task thus to lead a single life, and married. Which when they had done according to the former agreement departed from us. So that our Company was now reduced to two, *viz.* my Self and *Stephen Rutland*; whose inclination and resolution was as stedfast as mine against Marriage. And we parted not to the last, but came away together.

His Family reduced to two.

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Part IV.

CHAP. VII.

A return to the reſt of the Engliſh, with ſome further accounts of them. And ſome further diſcourſe of the Authors courſe of life.

Confer together about the lawfulneſs of Marrying with the Native Women.

LEt us now make a Viſit to the reſt of our Country-men, and ſee how they do. They reckoning themſelves in for their Lives, in order to their future ſettlement, were generally diſpoſed to Marry. Concerning which we have had many and ſundry diſputes among our ſelves; as particularly concerning the lawfulneſs of matching with Heathens and Idolaters, and whether the *Chingulays* Marriages were any better than living in Whoredome: there being no *Chriſtian Prieſts* to join them together, and it being allowed by their Laws to change their Wives and take others as often as they pleaſed. But theſe cases we ſolved for our own advantage after this manner, *That we were but Fleſh and Blood, and that it is ſaid,* It is better to Marry than to burn, *and that as far as we could ſee, we were cut off from all Marriages any where elſe, even for our Life time, and therefore that we muſt marry with theſe or with none at all. And when the People in Scripture were forbidden to take Wives of Strangers, it was then when they might intermarry with their own People, and ſo no neceſſity lay upon them. And that when they could not, there are examples in the Old Teſtament upon Record, that they took Wives of the Daughters of the Lands, wherein they dwelt.* Theſe reaſons being urged, there was none among us, that could object ought againſt them, eſpecially if thoſe that were minded to marry Women here, did take them for their Wives during their lives, as ſome of them ſay, they do: and moſt of the Women they marry are ſuch as do profeſs themſelves to be *Chriſtians*.

He reſolves upon a ſingle life.

As for mine own part, however lawful theſe Marriages might be, yet I judged it far more convenient for me to abſtain, and that it more redounded to my good, having always a reviving hope in me, that my God had not forſaken me, but according to his gracious promiſe to the *Jews* in the xxx Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, and the beginning, *would turn my Captivity and bring me into the Land of my Fathers.* Theſe and ſuch like meditations, together with my Prayers to God, kept me from that unequal Yoke of Unbeleivers, which ſeveral of my Countrey men and fellow Priſoners put themſelves under.

What employments they follow.

By this time our People having plyed their Buſineſs hard, had almoſt knit themſelves out of work; and now Caps were become a very dead Commodity, which was the chief ſtay they had heretofore to truſt to. So that now moſt of them betook themſelves to other employments; ſome to Husbandry, Plowing Ground, and ſowing Rice, and keeping Cattle, others ſtilled *Rack* to ſell, others went about the Countrey a Trading. For that which one part of the Land affords is a good Commodity to carry to another that wants it. And thus with the help of a little allowance, they make a ſhift to to ſubſiſt. Moſt of their Wives ſpin Cotton yarn, which is a great help to them for cloathing, and at ſpare times alſo knit.

The reſpect and credit they live in.

After this manner by the bleſſing of God our Nation hath lived and ſtill doth, in as good faſhion as any other People or Nation whatſoever,

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ſoever, that are Strangers here, or as any of the Natives themſelves, only the Grandees and Courtiers excepted. This I ſpeak to the Praiſe and Glory of our God; who loves the Stranger in giving him Food and Raiment; and that hath been pleaſed to give us Favour and a good Repute in the ſight of our Enemies. We cannot complain for want of juſtice in any wrongs we have ſuſtained by the People; or that our cauſe hath been diſcountenanced; but rather we have been favoured above the Natives themſelves. Chap. 7.

A *Chingulay* puniſhed for beating an *Engliſh* man.

One of our men happened to be beaten by his Neighbour: At which we were all very much concerned, taking it as a reproach to our Nation, and fearing it might embolden others to do the like by the reſt of us. Therefore with joint conſent we all concluded to go to the Court to complain, and to deſire ſatisfaction from the *Adigar*. Which we did. Upon this the man who had beat the *Engliſh* man was ſummoned in to appear before him. Who ſeeing ſo many of us there, and fearing the cauſe will go very hard with him, to make the Judg his friend, gave him a bribe. He having received it would have ſhifted off the Puniſhment of the Malefactor. But we day after day followed him from houſe to Court, and from place to place, where-ever he went, demanding Juſtice and Satisfaction for the wrong we received, ſhewing the black and blew blows upon the *Engliſh* mans ſhoulders to all the reſt of the Noble men at Court. He fearing therefore leſt the King might be made acquainted herewith was forced tho much againſt his will to clap the *Chingulay* in Chains. In which condition after he got him, he releaſed him not till beſides the former fee he had given him another.

An *Engliſh* man preferred at Court.

Lately was *Richard Varnham* taken into the Kings ſervice, and held as Honourable an employment as ever any Chriſtian had in my time, being Commander of Nine Hundred and Seventy Soldiers, and ſet over all the great Guns, and beſides this, ſeveral Towns were under him. A place of no leſs Profit than Honour. The King gave him an excellent Silver Sword and Halberd, the like to which the King never gave to any *White* man in my time. But he had the good luck to die a natural Death. For had not that prevented, in all probability he ſhould have followed the two *Engliſh* men that ſerved him, ſpoken of before.

The *Engliſh* ſerve the King in his Wars.

Some years ſince ſome of our Nation took up Arms under the King. Which happened upon this occaſion. The *Hollanders* had a ſmall Fort in the Kings Countrey, called *Bibligom* Fort. This the King minded to take and demoliſh, ſent his Army to beſeige it. But being pretty ſtrong; for there were about Ninety *Dutch* men in it, beſides a good number of *Black* Soldiers, and four Guns on each point one, being in this condition it held out. Some of the great men informed the King of ſeveral *Dutch* runnaways in his Land, that might be truſted, not daring to turn again for fear of the Gallows, who might help to reduce the Fort. And that alſo there were *white men* of other Nations that had Wives and Children, from whom they would not run: and theſe might do him good ſervice. Unto this advice the King inclined.

Whereupon the King made a *Declaration* to invite the forrain Nations into his Service againſt *Bibligom Fort*, that he would compel none, but ſuch as were willing of their own free accord, the King would take it kindly, and they ſhould be well rewarded. Now there

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Part IV. entred into the Kings Service upon this Expedition ſome of all Nations; both *Portugueze*, *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, about the number of Thirty. To all that took Arms he gave to the value of Twenty ſhillings in money, and three pieces of *Callico* for Cloaths, and commanded them to wear Breeches, Hats and Doublets, a great honour there. The King intended a *Dutch*-man, who had been an old Servant to him, to be Captain over them all. But the *Portugueze* not caring to be under the Command of a *Dutch*-man, deſired a Captain of their own Nation, which the King granted, ſtudying to pleaſe them at this time. But the *Engliſh* being but ſix, were too few to have a Captain over them, and ſo were forced ſome to ſerve under the *Dutch*, and ſome under the *Portugueze* Captain. There were no more of the *Engliſh*, becauſe being left at their liberty they thought it ſafeſt to dwell at home, and cared not much to take Arms under a Heathen againſt *Chriſtians*.

Who now live miſerably.

They were all ready to go, their Arms and Ammunition ready with Guns prepared to ſend down, but before they went, Tydings came that the Fort yeilded at the Kings Mercy. After this the *Whites* thought they had got an advantage of the King in having theſe gifts for nothing, but the King did not intend to part with them ſo; but kept them to watch at his Gate. And now they are reduced to great Poverty and Neceſſity. For ſince the Kings firſt Gift they have never received any Pay or Allowance; tho they have often made their Addreſſes to him to ſupply their wants, ſignifying their forwardneſs to ſerve him faithfully. He ſpeaks them fair, and tells them he will conſider them, but does not in the leaſt regard them. Many of them ſince, after three or four years ſervice, have been glad to get other Poor run away *Dutch* men to ſerve in their ſteads, giving them as much mony and cloths as they received of the King before; that ſo they might get free to come home to their Wives and Children.

The *Dutch* Captain would afterwards have forced the reſt of the *Engliſh* to have come under him, and called them *Traytors* becauſe they would not, and threatned them. But they ſcorned him, and bid him do his worſt, but would never be perſuaded to be Soldiers under him, ſaying, *that it was not ſo much his zeal to the Kings ſervice, as his own Pride to make himſelf greater by having more men under him.*

He returns to ſpeak of himſelf. Plots and Conſults about an Eſcape.

I will now turn to the Progreſs of my own Story. It was now about the year MDC LXXII. I related before, that my family was reduced to two, my ſelf and one honeſt man more, we lived ſolitarily and contentedly being well ſetled in a good Houſe of my own. Now we fell to breeding up *Goats*: we began with two, but by the bleſſing of God they ſoon came to a good many; and their Fleſh ſerved us inſtead of Mutton. We kept Hens and Hogs alſo: And ſeeing no ſudden likelihood of Liberty, we went about to make all things handſome and convenient about us: which might be ſerviceable to us, while we lived there, and might farther our Liberty whenſoever we ſhould ſee an occaſion to attempt it: which it did, in taking away all ſuſpition from the People concerning us: who not having Wives as the others had, they might well think, lay the readier to take any advantage to make an eſcape. Which indeed we two did Plot and Conſult about, between our ſelves with all imaginable Privacy, long before we we go away: and therefore we laboured by all means to hide our deſigns; and to free them from ſo much as ſuſpition. We

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Chap. 7.

A deſcription of his Houſe.

We had now brought our Houſe and Ground to ſuch a perfection that few Noble mens Seats in the Land did excel us. On each ſide was a great Thorn-Gate for entrance, which is the manner in that Countrey: the Gates of the City are of the ſame. We built alſo another Houſe in the Yard all open for Air, for our ſelves to ſit in, or any Neighbours that came to talk with us. For ſeldome ſhould we be alone, our Neighbours oftner frequenting our Houſe than we deſired; out of whom to be ſure we could pick no Profit. For their coming is always either to beg or borrow. For altho we were Strangers and Priſoners in their Land, yet they would confeſs that Almighty God had dealt far more bountifully with us than with them, in that we had a far greater plenty of all things than they.

He takes up a new Trade and Thrives on it.

I now began to ſet up a new Trade. For the Trade of Knitting was grown dead, and Husbandry I could not follow, not having a Wife to help and aſſiſt me therein, a great part of Husbandry properly belonging to the woman to manage. VVhereupon I perceived a Trade in uſe among them, which was to lend out Corn. The benefit of which is fifty *per cent. per annum.* This I ſaw to be the eaſieſt and moſt profitable way of Living, whereupon I took in hand to follow it: and what ſtock I had, I converted into Corn or Rice in the Huſk. And now as cuſtomers came for Corn, I let them have it, to receive their next Harveſt, when their own Corn was ripe, the ſame quantity I lent them, and half as much more. But as the Profit is great, ſo is the trouble of getting it in alſo. For he that uſeth this Trade muſt watch when the Debtors Field is ripe, and claim his due in time, otherwiſe other Creditors coming before will ſeize all upon the account of their Debts, and leave no Corn at all for thoſe that came later. For theſe that come thus a borrowing, generally carry none of their Corn home when it is ripe, for their Creditors eaſe them of that Labour by coming into their Fields and taking it, and commonly they have not half enough to pay what they ow. So that they that miſs getting ther Debts this year muſt ſtay till the next when it will be double, two meaſures for one: but the Intereſt never runs up higher, tho the Debt lye ſeven years unpaid. By means hereof I was put to a great deal of trouble, and was forced to watch early and late to get my Debts, and many times miſs of them after all my Pains. Howbeit when my Stock did encreaſe that I had dealings with many, I mattered not if I loſt in ſome places, the profit of the reſt was ſufficient to bear that out.

And thus by the Bleſſing of God my little was encreaſed to a great deal. For he had bleſſed me ſo, that I was able to lend to my Enemies, and had no need to borrow of them. So that I might uſe the words of *Jacob*, not out of Pride of my ſelf, but thankfulneſs to God, *That he brought me hither with my Staff and bleſſed me ſo here, that I became two Bands.*

His Allowance paid him out of the King's Store-houſes.

For ſome years together after I removed to my own Houſe from *Laggen denny*, the People from whence I came continued my allowance that I had when I lived among them. But now in plain Terms they told me *they could give it me no more, and that I was better able to live without it than they to give it me.* VVhich tho I knew to be true, yet I thought not fit to looſe that Portion of Allowance, which the King was pleaſed to allot me. Therefore I went to Court and appeal-

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Part IV. ed to the *Adigar* to whom such matters did belong. Who upon consideration of the Peoples poor condition, appointed me monthly to come to him at the Kings Palace for a Ticket to receive my Allowance out of the King's Store-houses.

Hereby I was brought into a great danger, out of which I had much ado to escape, and that with the loss of my Allowance for ever after. I shall relate the manner of it in the next Chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Author had like to have been received into the Kings Service, and what means he used to avoid it. He meditates and attempts an escape, but is often prevented.

He voluntarily forgoes his pension.

THis frequent Appearance at the Court, and waiting there for my Tickets, brought me to be taken notice of by the Great men: insomuch *that they wondered I had been all this while forgotten, and never been brought before the King, being so fit, as they would suppose me, for his use and service*, saying, *That from henceforward I should fare better than that Allowance amounted to, as soon as the King was made acquainted with me.* Which words of theirs served instead of a Ticket. Whereupon fearing I should suddainly be brought in to the King, which thing I most of all feared, and least desired, and hoping *that out of sight* might prove *out of mind*, I resolved to forsake the Court, and never more to ask for Tickets, especially seeing God had dealt so bountifully with me as to give me ability to live well enough without them. As when *Israel* had eaten of the Corn of the Land of *Canaan*, the *Manna* ceased; so when I was driven to forego my Allowance that had all this while sustained me in this wilderness, God otherways provided for me.

Summoned before the King.

From this time forward to the time of my Flight out of the Land, which was five years. I neither had nor demanded any more Allowance, and glad I was that I could escape so. But I must have more trouble first. For some four or five days after my last coming from Court, there came a Soldier to me, sent from the *Adigar*, with an Order in writing under his hand, *that upon sight thereof I should immediatly dispatch and come to the Court to make my personal appearance before the King, and in case of any delay, the Officers of the Countrey, were thereby Authorized and Commanded to assist the Bearer, and to see the same Order speedily performed.*

The chief occasion of this had been a Person, not long before my near Neighbour and Acquaintance, *Ona Matteral* by name, who knew my manner of Life, and had often been at my House; but now was taken in and employed at Court; and he out of friendship and good will to me was one of the chief Actors in this business, that he might bring me to Preferment at Court.

He is informed that he is to be preferred at Court.

Upon the aboveſaid ſummons there was no Remedy, but to Court I must go. Where I first applyed my self to my said old Neighbour,

Ona

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Oua Motteral, who was the occasion of sending for me. I signified to him *that I was come in obedience to the Warrant, and I desired to know the reason why I was sent for?* To which he answered, *Here is good news for you; you are to appear in the Kings Presence, where you will find great Favour, and Honourable entertainment, far more than any of your Countrey men yet here found.* Which the great man thought would be a strong Inducement to perswade me joyfully to accept of the Kings Employments. But this was the thing I always most dreaded, and endeavoured to shun, knowing that being taken into Court would be a means to cut of all hopes of Liberty from me, which was the thing I esteemed equal unto life it self. Chap. 8.

Seeing my self brought unto this pass, wherein I had no earthly helper, I recommended my cause to God, desiring him in whose hands are the hearts of Kings and Princes to divert the business. And my cause being just and right I was resolved to persist in a denial. My case seemed to me to be like that of the four Lepers at the Gate of *Samaria*. No avoiding of Death for me: If out of Ambition and Honour, I should have embraced the Kings Service, besides the depriving my self of all hopes of Liberty, in the end I must be put to death, as happens to all that serve him; and to deny his service could be but Death. And it seemed to me to be the better Death of the two. For if I should be put to Death only because I refused his service, I should be pitied as one that dyed innocently; but if I should be executed in his Service, however innocent I was, I should be certainly reckon'd a *Rebel* and a *Traytor*, as they all are whom he commands to be cut off. But resolves to refuse it.

Upon these considerations having thus set my resolutions, as God enabled me, I returned him this answer: First, *That the English Nation to whom I belonged had never done any violence or wrong to their King either in word or deed.* Secondly, *That the causes of my coming on their Land was not like to that of other Nations, who were either Enemies taken in War, or such as by reason of poverty or distress, were driven to sue for relief out of the Kings bountiful liberality, or such as fled for the fear of deserved punishment*; *Whereas*, as they all well knew, *I came not upon any of these causes, but upon account of Trade, and came ashore to receive the Kings Orders, which by notice we understood were come concerning us, and to render an account to the* Dissauva *of the Reasons and Occasions of our coming into the Kings Port. And that by the grief and sorrow I had undergone by being so long detained from my Native Countrey, (but, for which I thanked the Kings Majesty, without want of any thing) I scarcely enjoyed my self. For my heart was alwayes absent from my body.* Hereunto adding my insufficiency and inability for such honourable Employment, being subject to many Infirmities and Diseases of Body. The answer he makes to the Great man.

To this he replied, *Cannot you read and write English? Servile Labour the King requireth not of you.* I answered, *When I came ashore I was but young, and that which then I knew, now I had forgot for want of practice, having had neither ink nor paper ever since I came ashore.* I urged moreover, *That it was contrary to the Custome and Practice of all Kings and Princes upon the Earth to keep and detain men that came into their Countreys upon such peaceable accounts as we did; much less to compel them to serve them beyond their power and ability.*

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Part. IV.

He is sent to another great Officer.

At my first coming before him he looked very pleasingly, and spake with a smiling countenance to me: but now his smiles were turned into frowns, and his pleasing looks into bended brows, and in rough Language, he bad me be gone and tell my tale to the *Adigar*. Which immediatly I did; but he being busie did not much regard me, and I was glad of it, that I might absent the Court. But I durst not go out of the City. Sore afraid I was that evil would befall me, and the best I could expect was to be put in Chains. All my refuge was *Prayer* to God, *whose hand was not shortned that it could not save, and would make all things work together for good to them that trust in him.* From him only did I expect help and deliverance in this time of need.

He stays in the City expecting his Doom.

In this manner I lodged in an *English* mans house that dwelt in the City about ten days, maintaining my self at my own charge, waiting with a sorrowful heart, and daily expecting to hear my Doom. In the mean time my Countrey men and Acquaintance, some of them blamed me for refusing so fair a Profer; whereby I might not only have lived well my self, but also have been helpful unto my Poor Country-men and friends: others of them pitying me, expecting, as I did, nothing but a wrathfull sentence from so cruel a Tyrant, if God did not prevent. And *Richard Varnham*, who was at this time a great man about the King, was not a little scared to see me run the hazard of what might ensue, rather than be Partaker with him in the felicities of the Court.

He goes home but is sent for again.

It being chargable thus to lye at the City, and hearing nothing more of my business, I took leave without asking, and went home to my House; which was but a Days distance, to get some Victuals to carry with me, and to return again. But soon after I came home I was sent for again. So I took my load of Victuals with me, and arrived at the City, but went not to the Court, but to my former Lodging, where I staid as formerly, until I had spent all my Provisions: and by the good hand of my God upon me, I never heard any more of that matter. Neither came I any more into the Presence of the Great-men at Court, but dwelt in my own Plantation, upon what God provided for me by my Labour and Industry.

Having escaped the Court service, falls to his former course of life.

For now I returned to my former course of life, dressing my Victuals daily with mine own hands, fetching both Wood and Water upon mine own back. And this, for ought I could see to the contrary, I was like to continue for my life time. This I could do for the Present, but I began to consider how helpless I should be, if it should please God I should live till I grew old and feeble. So I entred upon a Consultation with my self for the providing against this. One way was the getting of me a Wife, but that I was resolved never to do. Then I began to enquire for some poor body to live with me, to dress my Victuals for me, that I might live at a little more ease, but could not find any to my mind. Whereupon I considered, that there was no better way, than to take one of my poor Country-mens Children, whom I might bring up to learn both my own Language and Religion. And this might be not only Charity to the Child, but a kindness to my self also afterwards. And several there were that would be glad so to be eased of their charge, having more than they could well

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well maintain, a Child therefore I took, by whose aptness, ingenuity and company as I was much delighted at present, so afterwards I hoped to be served. Chap. 8.

It was now about the year M DC LXXIII. Altho I had now lived many years in this Land, and God be praised, I wanted for nothing the Land afforded, yet could I not forget my native Countrey *England*, and lamented under the Famine of Gods Word and Sacraments, the want whereof I found greater than all earthly wants: and my dayly and fervent Prayers to God were, in his good time to restore me to the enjoyment of them.

I and my Companion were still meditating upon our escape and the means to compass it. Which our pedling about the Countrey did greatly forward and promote. For speaking well the Language and going with our Commodities from place to place, we used often to entertain discourse with the Countrey people; *viz.* concerning the ways and the Countreys, and where there were most and fewest inhabitants, and where and how the *Watches* laid from one Countrey to another; and what Commodities were proper to carry from one part to the other, pretending we would from time to time go from one place to another, to furnish our selves with ware that the respective places afforded. None doubted but we had made these inquiries for the sake of our Trade, but our selves had other designs in them. Neither was there the least suspition of us for these our questions: all supposing I would never run away and leave such an estate as in their accounts and esteem I had. Their pedling forwarded their escape.

By diligent inquiry I had come to understand, that the easiest and most probable way to make an escape was by travailing to the Northward, that part of the Land being least inhabited. Therefore we furnished our selves with such wares as were vendible in those parts, as *Tobacco*, *Pepper*, *Garlick*, *Combs*, all sorts of *Iron Ware*, &c. and being laden with these things, we two set forth, bending our course towards the Northern Parts of the Island, knowing very little of the way; and the ways of this Countrey generally are intricate and difficult: here being no great High-ways that run thro the Land, but a multitude of little Paths, some from one Town to another, some into the Fields, and some into the Woods where they sow their Corn; and the whole Countrey covered with Woods, that a man cannot see any thing but just before him. And that which makes them most difficult of all, is, that the ways shift and alter, new ways often made and old ways stopped up. For they cut down Woods, and sow the ground, and having got one Crop off from it, they leave it, and Wood soon grows over it again: and in case a Road went thro those Woods, they stop it, and contrive another way; neither do they regard tho it goes two or three miles about: and to ask and inquire the way for us *white men* is very dangerous, it occasioning the People to suspect us. And the *Chingulays* themselves never Travail in Countreys where they are not experienced in the ways without a guide, it being so difficult. And there was no getting a guide to conduct us down to the Sea. The most probable course to take, was Northwards.

But we made a shift to travail from *Cande Uda* downwards towards the North from Town to Town; happening at a place at last which I knew before, having been brought up formerly from *Cooswat* that way, to descend the Hill called *Bocaul*, where there is no *Watch*, but They get three days journey Northward.

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Part. IV. in time of great disturbance. Thus by the Providence of God we passed all difficulties until we came into the County of *Neurecalava*, which are the lowest parts that belong to this King; and some three days Journey from the place whence we came.

But return back again.

We were not a little glad that we were gotten so far onwards in our way, but yet at this time we could go no farther; for our ware was all sold, and we could pretend no more excuses; and also we had been out so long, that it might cause our Towns-men to come and look after us, it being the first time that we had been so long absent from home.

They attempted often to fly this way, but still hindred.

In this manner we went into these Northern Parts eight or ten times, and once got as far as *Hourly* a Town in the extremities of the Kings Dominions, but yet we could not attain our purpose. For this Northern Countrey being much subject to dry weather, and having no springs, we were fain to drink of Ponds of Rain water, wherein the Cattel lie and tumble, which would be so thick and muddy, that the very filth would hang in our Beards when we drank. This did not agree with our Bodies, being used to drink pure Spring water only. By which means when we first used those parts we used often to be Sick of violent Favors and Agues, when we came home. Which Diseases happened not only to us, but to all other People that dwelt upon the Mountains, as we did, whensoever they went down into those places; and commonly the major part of those that fall sick, dyes. At which the *Chingulays* are so scared, that it is very seldom they do adventure their Bodies down thither: neither truly would I have done it, were it not for those future hopes, which God of his mercy did at length accomplish. For both of us smarted sufficiently by those severe Favors we got, when we should both lay Sick together, and one not able to help the other. Insomuch that our Countrymen and Neighbours used to ask us, if we went thither purposing to destroy our selves, they little thinking, and we not daring to tell them our intent and design.

In those parts is bad Water, but they had an Antidote against it.

At length we learned an Antidote and Counter-Poyson against the filthy venomous water, which so operated by the blessing of God, that after the use thereof we had no more Sickness. It is only a dry leaf; they call it in *Portugueze Banga*, beaten to Powder with some of the Countrey *Jaggory*: and this we eat Morning and Evening upon an empty Stomach. It intoxicates the Brain, and makes one giddy, without any other operation either by Stool or Vomit.

They still improve in the knowledg of their Way.

Thus every Voyage we gathered more experience, and got lower down, for this is a large and spacious Countrey. We travailed to and fro where the ways led us, according to their own *Proverb*, *The Beggar and the Merchant is never out of his way*; because the one begs and the other trades wherever they go. Thus we used to ramble until we had sold all our ware, and then went home for more. And by these means we grew acquainted both with the People and the Paths.

Meets with his black Boy in these parts, who was to guide him to the *Dutch*.

In these parts I met with my black Boy, whom I had divers years before turned away, who had now Wife and Children. He proved a great help to me in directing me in the ways; for he had lived many years in these parts. Perceiving him to be able, and also in a very poor and sad condition, not able to maintain his Family, I adventured once to ask him if a good reward would not be welcome to him, for guiding us two down to the *Dutch*. Which having done he might return

again

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again and no Body the wiſer. At which Propoſition he ſeemed to be very joyful, and promiſed to undertake the ſame: only at this time for reaſons he alledged, which to me ſeemed probable, as that it was Harveſt time and many People about it, it could not ſo ſafely and conveniently be done now, as it might be ſome two Months after. Chap. 8.

The Buſineſs was concluded upon, and the time appointed between us. But it ſo fell out, that at the very preciſe time, all things being ready to depart on the morrow, it pleaſed God, whoſe time was not yet come, to ſtrike me with a moſt grievous pain in the hollow on my right ſide, that for five days together I was not able to ſtir from the fire ſide, but by warming it, and fomenting and chafing it I got a a little eaſe.

But diſapointed.

Afterward as ſoon as I was recovered, and got ſtrength, we went down and carried one *Engliſh* man more with us for company, for our better ſecurity, ſeeing we muſt travail in the Night upon our Flight: but tho we took him with us, we dared not to tell him of our deſign, becauſe he had a Wife, intending not to acquaint him with it, till the Buſineſs was juſt ready to be put into action. But when he came expecting to meet with our guide, he was gone into another Countrey; and we knew not where to find him, and we knew not how to run away without him. Thus we were diſapointed that time.

But as formerly, we went to and fro until we had ſold our ware; and ſo returned home again and delivered the man to his wife; but never told him any thing of our intended deſign, fearing leſt, if he knew it, he might acquaint her with it, and ſo all our purpoſes coming to be revealed might be overthrown for ever afterwards. For we were reſolved by Gods help ſtill to perſevere in our deſign.

An extraordinary drought for three or four years together.

Some eight or nine years one after another we followed this Trade, going down into this Countrey on pupoſe to ſeek to get beyond the Inhabitants, and ſo to run away thro the Woods to the *Hollanders*. Three or Four years together the dry weather prevented us; when the Countrey was almoſt ſtarved for want of Rain: all which time they never tilled the Ground. The Wells alſo were almoſt all dry; ſo that in the Towns we could ſcarcely get Water to drink, or Victuals to eat. Which affrighted us at thoſe times from running into the Woods, leſt we might periſh for Thirſt. All this while upon the Mountains, where our dwelling was, there was no want of Rain.

We found it an inconvenience when we came three of us down together, reckoning it might give occaſion to the people to ſuſpect our deſign, and ſo prevent us from going thither again. Some of the *Engliſh* that followed ſuch a Trade as we, had been down that way with their Commodities, but having felt the ſmart of that Countries Sickneſs, would go there no more, finding as much profit in nearer and eaſier Journeys. But we ſtill perſiſted in our courſes this way, having ſome greater matter to do here than to ſell Wares. *viz.* to find out this *Northern Diſcovery*; which in Gods good time we did effect.

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CHAP. IX.

How the Author began his Escape, and got onward of his Way about an Hundred miles.

Their last and successful attempt.

HAving often gone this Way to seek for Liberty, but could not yet find it; we again set forth to try what Success God Almighty would now give us, in the Year MDCLXXIX, on the Two and twentieth of *September*, furnished with such Arms as we could well carry with safety and secrecy, which were Knives and small Axes; we carried also several sorts of Ware to sell as formerly: the Moon being seven and twenty dayes old. Which we had so contrived, that we might have a *light Moon*, to see the better to run away by: having left an Old Man at home, whom I had hired to live with me, to look after my House and Goats.

The way they went.

We went down at the Hill *Bocawl*, where there was now no Watch, and but seldom any. From thence down to the Town of *Bonder Cooswat*, where my Father dyed; and by the Town of *Nicavar*, which is the last Town belonging to *Hotcurly* in that Road. From thence forward the Towns stand thin. For it was sixteen miles to the next Town called *Parroah*, which lay in the Country of *Neure-Cawlava*, and all the way thro a Wilderness called *Parroah Mocolane*, full of wild Elephants, Tigres and Bears.

They design for *Anarodgburro*.

Now we set our design for *Anarodgburro*, which is the lowest place inhabited belonging to the King of *Cande*: where there is a Watch alwayes kept: and nearer than twelve or fourteen miles of this Town as yet we never had been.

They turn out of the way to avoid the King's Officers.

When we came into the midst of this Countrey, we heard that the Governor thereof had sent Officers from the Court to dispatch away the Kings Revenues and Duties to the City, and that they were now come into the Country. Which put us into no small fear, lest if they saw us they should send us back again. Wherefore we edged away into the Westernmost Parts of *Ecpoulpot*, being a remote part of that Countrey wherein we now were. And there we sate to knitting until we heard they were gone. But this caused us to overshoot our time, the Moon spending so fast. But as soon as we heard they were departed out of the Countrey, we went onwards of our Journey, having kept most of our Ware for a pretence to have an occasion to go further. And having bought a good parcel of *Cotton Yarn* to knit Caps withal, the rest of our Ware we gave out, was to buy dryed flesh with, which only in those lower Parts is to be sold.

Forced to pass thro the Chief Governours yard.

Our Way now lay necessarily thro the chief Governors Yard at *Colliwilla*. Who dwells there purposely to see and examine all that go and come. This greatly distressed us. First, because he was a stranger to us, and one whom we had never seen. And secondly, because there was no other way to escape him: and plain reason would tell him, that we being prisoners were without our bounds. Whereupon we concluded, that our best way would be to go boldly and resolutely to his house, and not to seem daunted in the least, or to look as if we did distrust him to disallow of our Journey, but to shew such a behaviour, as if we had authority to travail where we would. So

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Chap. 9.

The Method they used to prevent his suspition of them.

So we went forward, and were forced to enquire and ask the way to his house, having never been so far this way before. I brought from home with me *Knives* with fine carved handles, and a red *Tunis* Cap purposely to sell or give him, if occasion required, knowing before, that we must pass by him. And all along as we went, that we might be the less suspected, we sold Caps and other Ware, to be paid for at our return homewards. There were many cross Paths to and fro to his house, yet by Gods Providence we happened in the right Road. And having reached his house, according to the Countrey manner we went and sate down in the open house; which kind of Houses are built on purpose for the reception of Strangers. Whither not long after the Great Man himself came and sate down by us. To whom we presented a small parcel of *Tobacco*, and some *Betel*. And before he asked us the cause of our coming, we shewed him the Ware we brought for him, and the Cotton Yarn which we had trucked about the Country: telling him withall how the case stood with us: viz. *That we had a Charge greater than the Kings allowance would maintain; and that because dryed Flesh was the chief Commodity of that Part*, we told him, *That missing of the Lading which we used to carry back, we were glad to come thither to see, if we could make it up with dryed Flesh. And therefore if he would please to supply us either for such Ware as we had brought, or else for our Money, it would be a great favour, the which would oblige us for the future to bring him any necessaries that he should name unto us, when we should come again unto those Parts, as we used to do very often: and that we could furnish him, having dealings and being acquainted with the best Artificers in* Cande.

At which he replyed, *That he was sorry we were come at such a dry time, wherein they could not catch Deer, but if some Rain fell, he would soon dispatch us with our Ladings of Flesh. But however*, he bade us *go about the Towns, and see whether there might be any or no, tho he thought there was none.* This answer of his pleased us wondrous well, both because by this we saw he suspected us not, and because he told us there was no dryed Flesh to be got. For it was one of our greatest fears that we should get our Lading too soon: for then, we could not have had an excuse to go further. And as yet we could not possibly fly: having still six miles further to the Northward to go before we could attempt it, that is, to *Anarodgburro*.

Their danger by reason of the ways they were to pass.

From *Anarodgburro* it is two dayes Journey further thro a desolate Wilderness before there is any more Inhabitants. And these Inhabitants are neither under this King nor the *Dutch*, but are *Malabars*, and are under a Prince of their own. This People we were sorely afraid of, lest they might seize us and send us back, there being a correspondence between this Prince and the King of *Cande*; wherefore it was our endeavour by all means to shun them; lest according to the old Proverb, *We might leap out of the Frying pan into the Fire.*

They still remain at the Governours, to prevent suspition.

But we must take care of that as well as we could when we came among them, for as yet our care was to get to *Anarodgburro*. Where altho it was our desire to get, yet we would not seem to be too hasty, lest it might occasion suspition: but lay where we were two or three dayes: and one stay'd at the Governors House a knitting, whilst the other went about among the Towns to see for Flesh. The Ponds in the Country being now dry, there was Fish every where in abundance,

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dance, which they dry like red Herrings over a fire. They offered to sell us store of them, but *they*, we told them, *would not turn to so good profit as Flesh. The which*, we said, *we would have, tho we stayed ten dayes longer for it. For here we could live as cheap, and earn as much as if we were at home, by our knitting.* So we seemed to them as if we were not in any hast.

An accident that now created them great fear.

In the mean time happened an Accident which put us to a great fright. For the King having newly clapped up several Persons of Quality, whereof my old Neighbour *Ova Motteral*, that sent for me to Court, was one, sent down Souldiers to this *High Sheriff* or Governor, at whose house we now were, to give him order to set a secure Guard at the Watches, that no suspitious persons might pass. This he did to prevent the Relations of these imprisoned persons from making an Escape, who thro fear of the King might attempt it. This always is the Kings custome to do. But it put us into an exceeding fear, lest it might beget an admiration in these Soldiers to see *White men* so low down: which indeed is not customary nor allowed of: and so they might send us up again. Which doubtless they would have done, had it not been of God by this means and after this manner to deliver us. Especially considering that the King's Command came just at that time and so expressly to keep a secure Guard at the Watches, and that in that very Way that alwayes we purposed to go in: so that it seemed scarcely possible for us to pass afterwards, tho we should get off fairly at present with the Soldiers.

But get fairly rid of it.

Which we did. For they having delivered their Message, departed, shewing themselves very kind and civil unto us. And we seemed to lament for our hard fortune, that we were not ready to go upwards with them in their good company: for we were Neighbours dwelling in one and the same County. However we bid them carry our commendations to our Countrymen the *English*, with whom they were acquainted at the City, and so bad them *farewel*. And glad we were when they were gone from us. And the next day in the morning we resolved, God willing, to set forward. But we thought not fit to tell our Host, the Governor, of it, till the very instant of our departing, that he might not have any time to deliberate concerning us.

That Night he being disposed to be merry, sent for people whose trade it is to dance and shew tricks, to come to his house to entertain him with their Sports. The beholding them spent most part of the Night. Which we merrily called our *Old Host's Civility* to us at our last parting: as it proved indeed, tho he, honest man, then little dreamed of any such thing.

They get away fairly from the Governour.

The morning being come, we first took care to fill our Bellies; then we packed up those things which were necessary for our Journey to carry with us, and the rest of our Goods, Cotton Yarn, and Cloth and other things; that we would not incumber our selves withall, we bound up in a Bundle, intending to leave them behind us. This being done, I went to the Governor, and carried him four or five charges of Gunpowder, a thing somewhat scarce with them, intreating him rather than we should be disappointed of Flesh, to make use of that and shoot some Deer; which he was very willing to accept of, and to us it could be no wayes profitable, not having a Gun. While *we*, we told him, *would make a step to* Anarodgburro *to see what Flesh we could procure*

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procure there. In the mean time, according as we had before layd the buſineſs, came *Stephen* with the Bundle of Goods, deſiring to leave them in his houſe, till we came back. Which he was very ready to grant us leave to do. And ſeeing us leave ſuch a parcel of Goods, tho, God knowes, but of little account in themſelves, yet of conſiderable value in that Land, he could not ſuppoſe otherwiſe but that we were intended to return again. Thus we took our leaves, and immediately departed, not giving him time to conſider with himſelf, or conſult with others about us. And he like a good natured man bid us heartily *farewel.* Chap. 9.

Altho we knew not the way to this Town, having never been there in all our lives, and durſt not ask, leſt it might breed ſuſpition; yet we went on confidently thro a deſolate Wood: and happened to go very right, and came out directly at the place.

In their way they meet with a River which they found for their purpoſe.

But in our way before we arrived hither, we came up with a ſmall River, which ran thro the Woods, called by the *Chingulayes Malwat oyah*: the which we viewed well, and judged it might be a probable guide to carry us down to the Sea, if a better did not preſent. Howbeit we thought good to try firſt the way we were taking, and to go onward towards *Anarodgburro*, that being the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way to get to the Coaſt: and this River being as under our *Lee*, ready to ſerve and aſſiſt us, if other means failed.

They come ſafely to *Anarodgburro.* This Place deſcribed.

To *Anarodgburro* therefore we came, called alſo *Neur Waug.* Which is not ſo much a particular ſingle *Town*, as a *Territory.* It is a vaſt great *Plain*, the like I never ſaw in all that Iſland: in the midſt whereof is a Lake, which may be a mile over, not natural, but made by art, as other Ponds in the Country, to ſerve them to water their Corn Grounds. This Plain is encompaſſed round with Woods, and ſmall Towns among them on every ſide, inhabited by *Malabars*, a diſtinct People from the *Chingulayes.* But theſe Towns we could not ſee till we came in among them. Being come out thro the Woods into this Plain, we ſtood looking and ſtaring round about us, but knew not where nor which way to go. At length we heard a Cock crow, which was a ſure ſign to us that there was a Town hard by; into which we were reſolved to enter. For ſtanding thus amazed, was the ready way to be taken up for ſuſpitious perſons, eſpecially becauſe *White men* never come down ſo low.

The People ſtand amazed at them.

Being entred into this Town, we ſate our ſelves under a Tree, and proclaimed our Wares, for we feared to ruſh into their Yards, as we uſed to do in other places, leſt we ſhould ſcare them. The People ſtood amazed as ſoon as they ſaw us, being originally *Malabars*, tho Subjects of *Candy.* Nor could they underſtand the *Chingulay* Language in which we ſpake to them. And we ſtood looking one upon another until there came one that could ſpeak the *Chingulay* Tongue: Who asked us, *from whence we came?* We told him, *From Cande Uda.* But they believed us not, ſuppoſing that we came up from the *Dutch* from *Manaar.* So they brought us before their Governor. He not ſpeaking *Chingulais*, ſpake to us by an Interpreter. And to know the truth, whether we came from the place we pretended, he inquired about News at Court; demanded, *Who were Governors of ſuch and ſuch Countreys?* and *what was become of ſome certain Noble-men*, whom the King had lately cut off? and alſo *What the common people were employed*

They are examined by the Governour of the Place.

about

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about at Court, for it is seldom that they are idle. To all which we gave satisfactory answers. Then he enquired of us, *Who gave us leave to come down so low?* We told him, *That priviledg was given to us by the King himself full Fifteen Years since at his Palace at* Nellemby, *when he caused it to be declared unto us, that we were no longer prisoners, and* (which indeed was our own addition) *that we were free to enjoy the benefit of Trade in all his Dominions.*

To prove and confirm the truth of which, we alledged the distance of the Way that we were now come from home, being near an hundred miles, passing thro several Counties, where we met with several Governors and Officers in their respective Jurisdictions; who had they not been well sensible of these Priviledges granted us, would not have allowed us to pass thro their Countries. All which Officers we described to him by name; and also that now we came from the *High Sheriff's* House at *Colliwilla*, where we had been these three dayes, and there heard of the Order that was come to secure the Watches; which was not for fear of the running away of *White men*, but of the *Chingulayes*. These Reasons gave him full satisfaction, that we were innocent Traders, seeing also the Commodities that we had brought with us: this further confirmed his opinion concerning us.

Provide things necessary for their flight.

The People were very glad of our coming, and gave us an end of an open house to ly in: but at present they had no dryed Flesh, but desired us to stay two or three days and we should not fail: which we were very ready to consent to, hoping by that time to come to the knowledg of the way, and to learn where about the watch was placed. To prevent the least surmise that we were Plotting to run away, we agreed, that *Stephen* should stay in the house by the things, while I with some few went abroad; pretending to enquire for dryed Flesh to carry back with us to *Cande*, but intending to make discoveries of the way, and provide necessaries for our Flight, as *Rice*, a *Brass Pot* to boil our Rice in, a little dryed *Flesh* to eat, and a *Deers-skin* to make us Shooes of. And by the Providence of my gracious God, all these things I happened upon and bought. But as our good hap was, *Deers-Flesh* we could meet with none. So that we had time enough to fit our selves; all People thinking that we stayed only to buy Flesh.

They find it not safe to proceed further this way.

Here we stayed three days; during which we had found the great Road that runs down towards *Jafnapatan*, one of the Northern Ports belonging to the *Dutch*, which Road we judged led also towards *Manaar* a *Dutch* Northern Port also, which was the Place that we endeavoured to get to, lying above two or three days Journey distant from us. But in this Road there was a Watch lay, which must be passed. Where this Watch was placed, it was necessary for us punctually to know, and to endeavour to get a sight of it. And if we could do this, our intent was to go unseen by Night, the people being then afraid to travayl, and being come up to the Watch, to slip aside into the Woods, and so go on untill we were past it; and then strike into the Road again. But this Project came to nothing, because I could not without suspition and danger go and view this Watch; which layd some four or five miles below this Plain; and so far I could not frame any business to go.

But

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But several inconveniences we saw here, insomuch that we found it would not be safe for us to go down in this Road. For if we should have slipt away from them by Night, in the Morning we should be missed, and then most surely they would go that way to chace us, and ten to one overtake us, being but one Night before them. Also we knew not whether or no, it might lead us into the Countrey of the *Malabar* Prince, of whom we were much afraid. Chap. 10.

Then resolving to let the great Road alone, we thought of going right down thro the VVoods, and steer our course by the Sun and Moon: but the Ground being so dry we feared we should not meet with VVater. So we declined that Counsel also. Thus being in doubt, we prayed God to direct us, and to put it into our hearts which way to take. Then after a Consultation between our selves, all things considered, we concluded it the best course to go back to *Malwat oyah*, the River we had well viewed that lay in our way as we came hither. And back thither we resolved to repair. Resolve to go back to the River they lately passed.

CHAP. X.

The Author's Progress in his Flight from Anarodgburro, *into the Woods, unto their arrival in the* Malabars *Countrey.*

NOw God of his Mercy having prospered our Design hitherto, for which we blessed his Holy Name, our next care was how to come off clear from the People of *Anarodgburro*, that they might not presently miss us, and so pursue after us. Which if they should do, there would have been no escaping them. For from this Town to *Colliwilla*, where the Sheriff lived, with whom we left our Goods, they are as well acquainted in the Woods as in the Paths. And when we came away we must tell the People, that we were going thither, because there is no other way but that. Now our fear was, lest upon some occasion or other any Men might chance to Travel that way soon after we were gone, and not finding us at *Colliwilla*, might conclude, as they could do no otherwise, that we were run into the Woods. Therefore to avoid this Danger, we stayed in the Town till it was so late, that we knew none durst venture to Travel afterwards for fear of wild Beasts. By which means we were sure to gain a Nights Travel at least, if they should chance to pursue us. They depart back again towards the River.

So we took our leaves of the Governor, who kindly gave us a Pot of Milk to drink for a farewel; we telling him, *We were returning back to the Sheriff at* Colliwilla, *to whom we had given some Gunpowder when we came from him to shoot us some Deer, and we doubted not but by that time we should get to him, he would have provided flesh enough for our lading home.* Thus bidding him and the rest of the Neighbours *farewel*, we departed, they giving us the Civility of their accustomed Prayers, *Diabac*, that is, *God bless*, or *keep you.* But first take their leave of the Governor here.

It was now the Twelfth day of *October* on a Sunday, the Moon eighteen days old. We were well furnished with all things needful, which They begin their flight.

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Part IV. we could get, *Viz.* Ten days Proviſion, *Rice*, *Fleſh*, *Fiſh*, *Pepper*, *Salt*, a *Baſon* to boil our Victuals in, two *Calabaſſes* to fetch Water, two great *Tallipats* for Tents, big enough to ſleep under if it ſhould rain, *Jaggory* and *Sweet-meats*, which we brought from home with us, *Tobacco* alſo and *Betel*, *Tinder-Boxes* two or three for failing, and a *Deers Skin* to make us Shooes, to prevent any Thorns running into our feet as we travelled through the Woods; for our greateſt Truſt under God was to our feet. Our Weapons were, each man a ſmall Axe faſtned to a long Staff in our hands, and a good Knife by our ſides. Which were ſufficient with God's help to defend us from the Aſſaults of either Tiger or Bear; and as for Elephants there is no ſtanding againſt them, but the beſt defence is to flee from them.

In this Poſture and Equipage we marched forward. When we were come within a Mile of this River, it being about Four in the Evening, we began to fear, leſt any of the People of *Anarodgburro* from whence we came, ſhould follow us to *Colliwella*. Which place we never intended to come at more: the River along which we intended to go, laying on this ſide of it. That we might be ſecure therefore that no People came after us, we ſat down upon a Rock by a hole that was full of water in the High-way; until it was ſo late, that we were ſure no People durſt Travel. In caſe any had come after us, and ſeen us ſitting there and gotten no further, we intended to tell them, That one of us was taken Sick by the way, and therefore not able to go. But it was our happy chance there came none. So about Sun-down we took up our Sacks of Proviſions, and marched forward for the River, which under God we had pitched upon to be our guide down to the Sea.

They come to the River along which they reſolved to go.

Being come at the River, we left the Road, and ſtruck into the Woods by the River ſide. We were exceeding careful not to tread on the Sand or ſoft Ground, leſt our footſteps ſhould be ſeen; and where it could not be avoided, we went backwards, ſo that by the print of our feet, it ſeemed as if we had gone the contrary way. We were now gotten a good way into the Wood; when it grew dark and began to Rain, ſo that we thought it beſt to pitch our Tents, and get Wood for Firing before it was all wet, and too dark to find it. Which we did, and kindled a fire.

Which they travel along by till it was dark.

Now they fit themſelves for their Journey.

Then we began to fit our ſelves for our Journey againſt the Moon aroſe. All our Sale-wares which we had left we caſt away, (for we took care not to ſell too much) keeping only Proviſions and what was very neceſſary for our Journey. About our Feet we tied pieces of Deers-hide to prevent Thorns and Stumps annoying our feet. We always uſed to Travel bare-foot, but now being to travel by Night and in the Woods, we feared ſo to do. For if our feet ſhould fail us now, we were quite undone. And by the time we had well-fitted our ſelves, and were refreſhed with a Morſel of *Portuguez* Sweet-meats, the Moon began to ſhine. So having commended our ſelves into the hands of the Almighty, we took up our Proviſions upon our ſhoulders, and ſet forward, and travelled ſome three or four hours, but with a great deal of difficulty; for the Trees being thick, the Moon gave but little light thro, but our reſolution was to keep going.

Meeting with an Elephant they took up for that night.

Now it was our chance to meet with an Elephant in our way juſt before us: which we tryed, but could not ſcare away: ſo he forced us

to

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to ſtay. We kindled a Fire and ſate down, and took a Pipe of *Tobacco*, waiting till Morning. Then we looked round about us, and it appeared all like a Wilderneſs, and no ſign that People ever had been there: which put us in great hopes that we had gained our Paſſage, and were paſt all the Inhabitants. Whereupon we concluded that we were now in no danger of being ſeen, and might Travel in the Day ſecurely. There was only one great Road in our way, which led to *Portaloon* from the Towns which by and by we fell into; this Road therefore we were ſhy of, leſt when we paſſed it over, ſome Paſſengers travelling in it, might ſee us; and this Road we were in expectance about this time to meet withal, ſecure, as I ſaid before, of all other danger of People. But the River winding about to the Northward brought us into the midſt of a parcel of Towns called *Tiſſea Wava*, before we were aware. For the Countrey being all Woods, we could not diſcern where there were Towns, until we came within the hearing of them. That which betrayed us into this danger was, that meeting with a Path, which only led from one Town to another, we concluded it to be that great Road above mentioned; and ſo having paſt it over, we ſuppoſed the Danger we might encounter in being ſeen, was alſo paſt over with it; but we were miſtaken; for going further we ſtill met with other Paths, which we croſſed over, ſtill hoping one or other of them was that great Road; but at laſt we perceived our Error; *viz.* That they were only Paths that went from one Town to another. Chap. 10.

They fall in among Towns before they are aware.

And ſo while we were avoiding Men and Towns, we ran into the midſt of them. This was a great trouble to us, hearing the Noiſe of People round about us, and knew not how to avoid them; into whoſe hands we knew if we had fallen, they would have carried us up to the King, beſides Beating and Plundring us to boot.

We knew before that theſe Towns were here away, but had we known that this River turned and run in among them, we ſhould never have undertaken the Enterprize. But now to go back, after we had newly paſſed ſo many Paths, and Fields and places where People did reſort, we thought not adviſable, and that the danger in ſo doing might be greater than in going forward. And had we known ſo much then, as afterwards did appear to us, it had been ſafer for us to have gone on, than to have hid there as we did; which we then thought was the beſt courſe we could take for the preſent extremity: *viz.* To ſecure our ſelves in ſecret until Night, and then to run thro in the dark. All that we now wanted was a hole to creep in to lye cloſe, for the Woods thereabouts were thin, and no ſhrubs or buſhes, under which we might be concealed.

Their fright leſt they ſhould be ſeen.

We heard the noiſe of People on every ſide, and expected every moment to ſee ſome of them to our great terror. And it is not eaſie to ſay in what Danger, and in what apprehenſion of it we were; it was not ſafe for us to ſtir backwards or forwards for fear of running among People, and it was as unſafe to ſtand ſtill where we were, leſt ſome body might ſpy us: and where to find Covert we could not tell. Looking about us in theſe ſtraits we ſpyed a great Tree by us, which for the bigneſs thereof 'tis probable might be hollow. To which we went, and found it ſo. It was like a Tub, ſome three foot high. Into it immediately we both crept, and made a ſhift

Hid themſelves in a hollow Tree.

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Part IV. to sit there for several hours, tho very uneasily, and all in mud and wet. But however it did greatly comfort us in the fright and amazement we were in.

They get safely over this Danger. So soon as it began to grow dark, we came creeping out of our hollow Tree, and put for it as fast as our Legs could carry us. And then we crossed that great Road, which all the day before we did expect to come up with, keeping close by the River side, and going so long till dark Night stopped us. We kept going the longer, because we heard the Voice of Men hollowing towards Evening: which created us a fresh disturbance, thinking them to be People that were coming to chace us. But at length we heard Elephants behind us, between us and the Voice, which we knew by the noise of cracking the Boughs and small Trees, which they break down and eat. These Elephants were a very good Guard behind us, and were methought like the Darkness that came between *Israel* and the *Egyptians*. For the People we knew would not dare to go forwards hearing Elephants before them.

They dress Meat and lay down to sleep. In this Security we pitched our Tents by the River side, and boiled Rice and roasted flesh for our Supper, for we were very hungry, and so commending our selves to God's keeping laid down to sleep. The Voice which we heard still continued, which lasting so long we knew what it meant; it was nothing but the hollowing of People that lay to watch the Corn Fields, to scare away the wild Beasts out of their Corn. Thus we past *Monday*.

They fear wild Men, which these Woods abound with. But nevertheless next Morning so soon as the Moon shone out bright, to prevent the worst we took up our Packs, and were gone: being past all the tame Inhabitants with whom we had no more trouble. But the next day we feared we should come among the wild ones; for these Woods are full of them. Of these we were as much afraid as of the other. For they would have carried us back to the King, where we should be kept Prisoners, but these we feared would have shot us, not standing to hear us plead for our selves.

They meet with many of their Tents. And indeed all along as we went, by the sides of the River till we came to the *Malabar* Inhabitants, had been the Tents of *wild Men*, made only of Boughs of Trees. But God be praised, they were all gone, tho but very lately before we came: as we perceived by the Bones of Cattle, and shells of Fruit, which lay scattered about. We supposed that want of water had driven them out of the Countrey down to the River side, but since it had rained a shower or two they were gone again. Once about Noon sitting down upon a Rock by the River side to take a Pipe of Tobacco and rest our selves; we had almost been discovered by the Women of these wild People, coming down, as I suppose, to wash themselves in the River. Who being many of them, came talking and laughing together. At the first hearing of the noise being a good distance, we marvailed what it was: sitting still and listning, it came nearer a little above where we sat; and at last we could plainly distinguish it to be the Voices of Women and Children. Whereupon we thought it no boot to sit longer, since we could escape undiscovered, and so took up our Bags and fled as fast as we could.

Very near falling upon the wild People.

What kind of travelling they had. Thus we kept travelling every day from Morning till Night, still along by the River side, which turned and winded very crooked.

In

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In ſome places it would be pretty good Travelling, and but few Buſhes and Thorns, and in others a great many. So that our Shoulders and Arms were all of a Gore, being grievouſly torn and ſcratched. For we had nothing on us but a clout about our Middles, and our Victuals on our Shoulders, and in our hands a Tallipat and an Ax. Chap. 11.

Some account of this River.

The lower we came down this River, the leſs Water, ſo that ſometimes we could go a Mile or two upon the Sand, and in ſome places three or four Rivers would all meet together. When it happened ſo, and was Noon, the Sun over our head, and the Water not running, we could not tell which to follow, but were forced to ſtay till the Sun was fallen, thereby to judge of our courſe. We often met with Bears, Hogs, Deer, and wild Buffaloes, but all ran ſo ſoon as they ſaw us. But Elephants we met with no more than that I mentioned before. The River is exceeding full of *Aligators* all a long as we went; the upper part of it nothing but Rocks. Here and there by the ſide of this River is a world of hevvn Stone Pillars, ſtanding upright, and other heaps of hevvn Stones, vvhich I ſuppoſe formerly were Buildings. And in three or four places are the ruins of Bridges built of Stone; ſome Remains of them yet ſtanding upon Stone Pillars. In many places are *Points* built out into the River like Wharfs, all of hewn Stone; which I ſuppoſe have been built for Kings to ſit upon for Pleaſure. For I cannot think they ever were employed for Traffick by VVater; the River being ſo full of Rocks that Boats could never come up into it.

Ruins.

The VVoods in all theſe Northern Parts are ſhort and ſhrubbed, and ſo they are by the River ſide, and the lower the worſe; and the Grounds ſo alſo.

The Woods hereabouts.

In the Evenings we uſed to pitch our Tent, and make a great Fire both before and behind us, that the wild Beaſts might have notice where we lay; and we uſed to hear the Voices of all ſorts of them, but, thanks be to God, none ever came near to hurt us. Yet we were the more wary of them, becauſe once a Tiger ſhewed us a cheat. For having bought a Deer, and having nothing to ſalt it up in, we packed it up in the Hide thereof ſalted, and laid it under a Bench in an open Houſe, on which I lay that Night, and *Stephen* layd juſt by it on the Ground, and ſome three People more lay then in the ſame Houſe; and in the ſaid Houſe a great Fire, and another in the Yard. Yet a Tiger came in the Night, and carried Deer and Hide and all away. But we miſſing it, concluded it was a Thief. VVe called up the People that lay by us, and told them what had happened. Who informed us that it was a Tiger, and with a Torch they went to ſee which way he had gone, and preſently found ſome of it, which he let drop by the way. VVhen it was day we went further, and pickt up more which was ſcattered, till we came to the Hide it ſelf, which remained uneaten.

How they ſecured themſelves a nights againſt wild Beaſts.

We had now Travelled till *Thurſday* Afternoon, when we croſſed the River called *Coronda oyah*; which was then quite dry; this parts the King's Countrey from the *Malabars*. VVe ſaw no ſign of Inhabitants here. The VVoods began to be very full of Thorns, and ſhrubby Buſhes with Clifts and broken Land; ſo that we could not poſſibly go in the VVoods; but now the River grew better being clear of Rocks, and dry, water only ſtanding in holes.

They paſs the River that divides the King's Countrey from the *Malabars*.

So

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Part IV. So we marched along in the River upon the Sand. Hereabouts are far more Elephants than higher up: by Day we saw none, but by Night the River is full of them.

After four or five days travel they come among Inhabitants.

Friday about Nine or Ten in the Morning we came among the Inhabitants. For then we saw the footing of People on the Sand, and tame Cattel with Bells about their Necks. Yet we kept on our way right down the River, knowing no other course to take to shun the People. And as we went still forwards we saw *Coracan* Corn, sowed in the VVoods, but neither Towns nor People: nor so much as the Voice of Man. But yet we were somewhat dismayed, knowing that we were now in a Countrey inhabited by *Malabars*. The *Waunniounay* or Prince of this People for fear pay Tribute to the *Dutch*, but stands far more affected towards the King of *Cande*. VVhich made our care the greater to keep our selves out of his hands; fearing lest if he did not keep us himself, he might send us up to our old Master. So that great was our terror again, lest meeting with People we might be discovered. Yet there was no means now left us how to avoid the Danger of being seen. The VVoods were so bad, that we could not possibly Travel in them for Thorns: and to Travel by Night was impossible, it being a dark Moon, and the River a Nights so full of Elephants and other wild Beasts coming to drink; as we did both hear and see laying upon the Banks with a Fire by us. They came in such Numbers because there was VVater for them no where else to be had, the Ponds and holes of VVater, nay the River it self in many places being dry.

But do what they can to avoid them.

As yet undiscovered.

There was therefore no other way to be taken but to Travel on in the River. So down we went into the Sand, and put on as fast as we could set our Legs to the ground, seeing no People (nor I think no body us), only Buffaloes in abundance in the Water.

CHAP. XI.

Being in the Malabar *Territories, how they encountred two Men, and what passed between them. And of their getting safe unto the* Dutch *Fort. And their Reception there, and at the Island* Manaar, *until their Embarking for* Columbo.

They met with two *Malabars*. To whom they relate their Condition.

THus we went on till about three of the Clock afternoon. At which time coming about a Point, we came up with two *Bramins* on a sudden, who were sitting under a Tree boyling Rice. We were within forty paces of them; when they saw us they were amazed at us, and as much afraid of us as vve vvere of them. Novv vve thought it better Policy to treat vvith them than to flee from them; fearing they might have Bovvs and Arrovvs, vvhereas vve vvere armed only vvith Axes in our hands, and Knives by our sides; or else that they might raise the Countrey and pursue us. So vve made a stand, and in the *Chingulay* Language asked their leave to come near to treat vvith them, but they did not understand it. But being risen up spake to us in the *Malabar* Tongue, vvhich vve could not understand.

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underſtand. Then ſtill ſtanding at a diſtance we intimated our minds to them by ſigns, beckoning with our hand: which they anſwered in the ſame Language. Then offering to go towards them, and ſeeing them to be naked men and no Arms near them, we laid our Axes upon the ground with our Bags, leſt we might ſcare them, if we had come up to them with thoſe weapons in our hands, and ſo went towards them with only our Knives by our ſides: by ſigns with our hands ſhewing them our bloody Backs we made them underſtand whence we came, and whither we were going. Which when they perceived they ſeemed to commiſerate our condition, and greatly to admire at ſuch a Miracle which God had brought to paſs: and as they talked one to another they lifted up their hands and faces towards Heaven, often repeating *Tombrane* which is *God* in the *Malabar* Tongue.

They are courteous to them.

And by their ſigns we underſtood they would have us bring our Bags and Axes nearer; which we had no ſooner done, but they brought the Rice and Herbs which they had boiled for themſelves to us, and bad us eat; which we were not fitted to do, having not long before eaten a hearty Dinner of better fare; yet could not but thankfully accept of their compaſſion and kindneſs, and eat as much as we could; and in requital of their courteſie, we gave them ſome of our Tobacco. Which after much entreating they did receive, and it pleaſed them exceedingly.

But loath to conduct them to the *Hollander.*

After theſe civilities paſſed on either ſide, we began by ſigns to deſire them to go with us and ſhew us the way to the *Dutch* Fort: which they were very unwilling to do, ſaying, as by ſigns and ſome few words which we could underſtand, that our greateſt danger was paſt, and that by Night we might get into the *Hollanders* Dominions. Yet we being weary with our tedious journey, and deſirous to have a guide, ſhewed them Money to the value of five Shillings, being all I had; and offered it them to go with us. Which together with our great importunity ſo prevailed, that one of them took it; and leaving his fellow to carry their Baggage he went with us about one Mile, and then began to take his leave of us, and to return. Which we ſuppoſed was to get more from us. Having therefore no more Money, we gave him a red Tunis Cap and a Knife, for which he went a Mile farther, and then as before would leave us, ſignifying to us, *that we were out of danger, and he could go no further.*

Now we had no more left to give him, but began to perceive, that what we had parted withall to him, was but flung away; and altho we might have taken all from him again being alone in the Wood, yet we feared to do it, leſt thereby we might exaſperate him, and ſo he might give notice of us to the People, but bad him farewel, after he had conducted us about four or five Miles. And we kept on our journey down the River as before, until it was Night, and lodged upon a Bank under a Tree: but were in the way of the Elephants; for in the Night they came and had like to have diſturbed us, ſo that for our preſervation we were forced to fling Fire brands at them to ſcare them away.

In danger of *Elephants.*

The next Morning being *Saturday* as ſoon as it was light, having eaten to ſtrengthen us, as Horſes do Oats before they Travail, we ſet forth going ſtill down the River; the Sand was dry and looſe, and ſo very tedious to go upon: by the ſide we could not go, being all over-

grown

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Part IV. grown with Buſhes. The Land hereabouts was as ſmooth as a bowling-green, but the Graſs clean burt up for want of Rain.

They overtake another man, who tells them they were in the *Dutch* Dominions.

Having Travailed about two hours, we ſaw a Man walking in the River before, whom we would gladly have ſhunned, but well could not, for he walked down the River as we did, but at a very ſlow rate, which much hindred us. But we conſidering upon the diſtance we had come, ſince we left the *Bramin*, and comparing with what he told us, we concluded we were in the *Hollanders* juriſdiction: and ſo amended our pace to overtake the Man before us. Whom we perceiving to be free from timerouſneſs at the ſight of us, concluded he had uſed to ſee *White-men*. Whereupon we asked him, *to whom he belonged*. He ſpeaking the *Chingulay* Language anſwered, *To the Dutch*; and alſo *that all the Country was under their Command*, and *that we were out of all danger*, and *that the Fort of* Arrepa *was but ſome ſix miles off*. Which did not a little rejoyce us, we told him, *we were of that Nation, and had made our eſcape from* Cande, *where we had been many years kept in Captivity*; and having nothing to give him our ſelves, we told him, *that it was not to be doubted, but the Chief Commander at the Fort would bountifully reward him, if he would go with us and direct us thither*. But whether he doubted of that or no, or whether he expected ſomething in hand, he excuſed himſelf pretending earneſt and urgent occaſions that he could not defer: but adviſed us to leave the River, becauſe it winds ſo much about, and turn up without fear to the Towns, where the People would direct us the way to the Fort.

They Arrive at *Arrepa* Fort.

Upon his advice we ſtruck up a Path that came down to the River, intending to go to a Town, but could find none; and there were ſo many croſs Paths that we could not tell which way to go: and the Land here ſo exceedingly low and level, that we could ſee no other thing but Trees. For altho I got up a Tree to look if I could ſee the *Dutch* Fort, or diſcern any Houſes, yet I could not; and the Sun being right over our heads neither could that direct us: inſomuch that we wiſhed our ſelves again in our old friend, the River. So after ſo much wandring up and down we ſat down under a Tree waiting until the Sun was fallen, or ſome People came by. Which not long after three or four *Malabars* did. One of which could ſpeak a little *Portugueze*. We told theſe Men, vve vvere *Hollanders*, ſuppoſing they vvould be the more vvilling to go vvith us, but they proved of the ſame temper vvith the reſt before mentioned. For until I gave one of them a ſmall Knife to cut Betel-nuts, he vvould not go vvith us: but for the lucre of that he conducted us to a Tovvn. From vvhence they ſent a Man vvith us to the next, and ſo vve were paſſed from Tovvn to Tovvn, uhtil vve arrived at the Fort called *Arrepa*: it being about four of the Clock on *Saturday* afternoon. *October* the eighteenth MDCLXXIX. Which day God grant us grace that vve may never forget, vvhen he vvas pleaſed to give us ſo great a deliverance from ſuch a long Captivity, of nineteen years, and ſix Months, and odd days, being taken Priſoner when I was nineteen years old, and continued upon the Mountains among the Heathen till I attained to Eight and Thirty.

He Travailed a Nights in the Woods without fear, and ſlept ſecurely.

In this my Flight thro the Woods, I cannot but take notice with ſome wonder and great thankfulneſs, that this Travelling by Night

in

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in a deſolate Wilderneſs was little or nothing dreadful to me, whereas formerly the very thoughts of it would ſeem to dread me, and in the Night when I laid down to reſt with wild Beaſts round me, I ſlept as ſoundly and ſecurely, as ever I did at home in my own Houſe. Which courage and peace I look upon to be the immediate gift of God to me upon my earneſt Prayers, which at that time he poured into my heart in great meaſure and fervency. After which I found my ſelf freed from thoſe frights and fears, which uſually poſſeſſed my heart at other times. Chap. 11.

In ſhort, I look upon the whole Buſineſs as a miraculous Providence, and that the hand of God did eminently appear to me, as it did of old to his People *Iſrael* in the like circumſtances, in leading and conducting me thro this dreadful Wilderneſs, and not to ſuffer any evil to approach nigh unto me.

Entertained very kindly.

The *Hollanders* much wondered at our Arrival, it being ſo ſtrange that any ſhould eſcape from *Cande*; and entertained us very kindly that Night: and the next Morning being *Sunday*, ſent a *Corporal* with us to *Manaar*, and a Black Man to carry our few things.

Sent to *Manaar*. Received by the Captain of the Caſtle.

At *Manaar* we were brought before the Captain of the Caſtle, the Cheif Governor being abſent. Who when we came in was juſt riſen from Dinner; he received us with a great deal of kindneſs and bad us ſet down to eat. It ſeemed not a little ſtrange to us, who had dwelt ſo long in Straw Cottages among the Black Heathen, and uſed to ſit on the Ground and eat our Meat on Leaves, now to ſit on Chairs and eat out of *China* Diſhes at a Table. Where were great Varieties, and a fair and ſumptuous Houſe inhabited by *White* and *Chriſtian* People; we being then in ſuch Habit and Guize, our Natural colour excepted, that we ſeemed not fit to eat with his Servants, no nor his Slaves.

Who intended them to Sail the next day to *Jafnapatan*.

After Dinner the Captain inquired concerning the Affairs of the King and Countrey, and the condition of their Ambaſſadors and People there. To all which we gave them true and ſatisfactory Anſwers. Then he told us, That to Morrow there was a Sloop to ſail to *Jafnapatan*, in which he would ſend us to the Commander or Governor, from whence we might have paſſage to Fort St. *George*, or any other place on that Coaſt, according to our deſire. After this, he gave us ſome Money, bidding us go to the Caſtle, to drink and be merry with our Country-men there. For all which kindneſs giving him many thanks in the *Portugueze* Language, we took our leaves of him.

Here they meet with a *Scotch* and *Iriſh* man.

When vve came to the Court of Guard at the Caſtle, vve asked the Soldiers if there vvere no *Engliſh* men among them. Immediatly there came forth tvvo men to us, the one a *Scotchman* named *Andrew Brown*; the other an *Iriſhman* vvhoſe name vvas *Francis Hodges*. Who after very kind ſalutes carried us unto their Lodgings in the Caſtle, and entertained us very nobly, according to their Ability, vvith *Rack* and *Tobacco*.

The People flock to ſee them.

The Nevvs of our Arrival being ſpread in the Tovvn, the People came flocking to ſee us, a ſtrange and vvonderful ſight! and ſome to enquire about their Husbands, Sons, and Relations, which were Priſoners in *Cande*.

In the Evening a Gentleman of the Tovvn ſent to invite us to his Houſe, vvere vve were gallantly entertained both vvith Victuals and

Lodging.

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Part. IV.

They are ordered a longer stay.

The next day being *Munday*, ready to Embark for *Jafnapatan*, came Order from the Captain and Council, that we must stay until the Commander of *Jafnapatan*, who was daily expected, came thither. Which we could not deny to do: and order was given to the Victualers of the Soldiers, to provide for us. The *Scotch* and *Irish* man were very glad of this Order, that they might have our company longer; and would not suffer us to spend the Captains benevolence in their company, but spent freely upon us at their own charges. Thanks be to God we both continued in health all the time of our Escape: but within three days after we came to *Manaar*, my Companion fell very Sick, that I thought I should have lost him.

They embark for *Columbo*.

Thus we remained some ten days; at which time the expected Commander arrived, and was received with great ceremonies of State. The next day we went before him to receive his orders concerning us. Which were, to be ready to go with him on the morrow to *Columbo*, there being a Ship that had long waited in that Road to carry him. In which we embarked with him for *Columbo*. At our coming on board to go to Sea, we could not expect but to be Sea-sick, being now as Fresh men, having so long disused the Sea, but it proved otherwise, and we were not in the least stirred.

CHAP. XII.

Their Arrival at Columbo, *and entertainment there. Their departure thence to* Batavia. *And from thence to* Bantam: *Whence they set Sail for* England.

They are wondred at at *Columbo*.

BEing arrived safely at *Columbo*, before the Ship came to an Anchor, there came a Barge on board to carry the Commander ashore. But being late in the evening, and my Consort sick of an Ague and Fevor, we thought it better for us to stay until Morning, to have a day before us. The next morning we bid the Skipper *farewel*, and went ashore in the first Boat, going strait to the Court of Guard: where all the Soldiers came staring upon us, wondring to see *White-men* in *Chingulay* Habit. We asked them *if there were no English-men among them*; they told us, *There were none, but that in the City there were several.* A Trumpetter being hard by, who had formerly sailed in *English* Ships, hearing of us came and invited us to his Chamber, and entertained my Consort being sick of his Ague, in his own Bed.

Ordered to appear before the Governour.

This strange news of our arrival from *Cande*, was presently spread all about the City, and all the *English* men that were there immediatly come to bid us welcome out of our long Captivity. With whom we consulted how to come to speech of the Governour. Upon which one of them went and and acquainted the Captain of the Guard of our being on shore. Which the Captain understanding went and informed the Governour thereof. Who sent us answer that to morrow we should come before him.

After

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Chap. 12.

After my Conſort's Fit was over, our Countreymen and their Friends invited us abroad, to walk and ſee the City. We being bare-foot and in the *Chingulay* Habit, with great long Beards, the People much wondred at us, and came flocking to ſee who and what we were; ſo that we had a great Train of People about us as we walked in the Streets. After we had walked to and fro, and had ſeen the City, they carried us to their *Land-Ladies* Houſe, where we were kindly treated both with Victuals and Drink; and returned to the Trumpetter's Chamber, as he had deſired us, when we went out. In the Evening came a Boy from the Governor's Houſe to tell us, that the Governor invited us to come to Supper at his Houſe. But we having Dined late with our Countreymen and their Friends, had no room to receive the Governor's Kindneſs: and ſo Lodged that Night at the Trumpetters.

Treated by *Engliſh* there.

The next Morning the Governor, whoſe Name was *Ricklof Van Gons*, Son of *Ricklof Van Gons* General of *Batavia*, ſent for us to his Houſe. Whom we found ſtanding in a large and ſtately Room, paved with black and white Stones; and only the Commander, who brought us from *Manaar*, ſtanding by him: who was to ſucceed him in the Government of that place. On the further ſide of the Room ſtood three of the chief Captains bare-headed. Firſt, *He bid us welcom out of our long Captivity*, and told us, *That we were free men, and that he ſhould have been glad if he could have been an Inſtrument to redeem us ſooner, having endeavoured as much for us as for his own People.* For all which we thanked him heartily, telling him, *We knew it to be true.*

They come into the Governor's preſence. His ſtate.

The Governor perceiving I could ſpeak the *Portugueze* Tongue, began to inquire concerning the Affairs of the King and Countrey very particularly, and oftentimes asked about ſuch Matters as he himſelf knew better than I. To all his Queſtions my too much Experience inabled me to give a ſatisfactory Reply. Some of the moſt remarkable matters he demanded of me were theſe.

Matters the Governor enquired of.

Firſt, They inquired much about the reaſon and intent of our coming to *Cuttiar*. To which I anſwered them at large. Then they asked, *If the King of* Cande *had any Iſſue?* I told them, *As report went, he had none.* And, *Who were the greateſt in the Realm next to him?* I anſwered, *There were none of Renown left, the King had deſtroyed them all. How the hearts of the People ſtood affected?* I anſwered, *Much againſt their King. He being ſo cruel. If we had never been brought into his preſence?* I told them, *No, nor had ever had a near ſight of him. What ſtrength he had for War.* I anſwered, *Not well able to aſſault them, by reaſon the hearts of his People were not true to him. But that the ſtrength of his Countrey conſiſted in Mountains and Woods, as much as in the People.*

What Army he could raiſe upon occaſion? I anſwered, *I knew not well, but as I thought about Thirty Thouſand men.*

Why he would not make Peace with them, they ſo much ſueing for it, and ſending Preſents to pleaſe him? I anſwered, *I was not one of his Council, and knew not his meaning.*

But they demanded of me, *What I thought might be the reaſon or occaſion of it?* I anſwered, *Living ſecurely in the Mountains he feareth none; and for Traffick he regardeth it not.*

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Which way was beſt and moſt ſecure to ſend Spyes or Intelligence to Cande? I told them, *By the way that goeth to* Jaſniputtan, *and by ſome of that Countrey People, who have great correſpondence with the People of* Neurecaulava, *one of the King's Countries.*

What I thought would become of that Land after this King's Deceaſe? I told them, *I thought, He having no Iſſue, it might fall into their hands.*

How many Engliſh men had ſerved the King, and what became of them? which I gave them an account of.

Whether I had any Acquaintance or Diſcourſe with the great Men at Court? I anſwered, *That I was too ſmall to have any Friendſhip or Intimacy, or hold Diſcourſe with them.*

How the common People uſed to talk concerning them? I anſwered, *They uſed much to commend their Juſtice and good Government in the Territories, and over the People belonging unto them.*

Whether the King did take Counſel of any, or rule and act only by his own will and pleaſure? I anſwered, *I was a Stranger at Court, and how could I know that?*

But, they asked further, *What was my Opinion?* I replied, *He is ſo great, that there is none great enough to give him counſel.*

Concerning the *French*, *If the King knew not of their coming before they came?* I anſvvered, *I thought, not, becauſe their coming ſeemed ſtrange and wonderful unto the People.*

How they had proceeded in treating with the King? I anſvvered, as ſhall be related hereafter; vvhen I come to ſpeak of the *French* detained in this Land.

If I knew any way or means to be uſed whereby the Priſoners in Cande *might be ſet free?* I told them, *Means I knew none, unleſs they could do it by War.*

Alſo they enquired about the manner of Executing thoſe whom the King commands to be put to Death. They enquired alſo very curiouſly concerning the manner of our Surprizal, and Entertainment or Uſage among them. And in what parts of the Land we had our Reſidence. And particularly, concerning my ſelf: in what Parts of the Land, and how long in each I had dwelt, and after what manner I lived there, and of my Age; and in what Part or Place when God ſends me home, I ſhould take up my abode. To all which I gave anſwers.

They deſired to know alſo, how many *Engliſh* men there were yet remaining behind. I gave them an account of Sixteen Men, and alſo of Eighteen Children born there. They much enquired concerning their Embaſſadors detained there, and of their behaviour and manner of living; alſo what the King allowed them for Maintenance; and concerning ſeveral Officers of Quality Priſoners there, and in general about all the reſt of their Nation. And *what Countenance the King ſhewed to thoſe Dutch men that came running away to him?* I anſwered, *The Dutch Runnawayes the King looks upon as Rogues.* And concerning the *Portugueze* they enquired alſo. I told them, *The* Portugueze *were about ſome fifty or threeſcore perſons, and ſix or ſeven of thoſe,* Europe *men born.*

They asked me moreover, How we had made our Eſcape, and which way, and by what Towns we paſſed, and how long we were in our Journey? To all which I anſwered at large. Then

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Then the Governor asked me, *What was my intent and desire*. I told him, *To have Passage to our own Nation at Fort* S. GEORGE. To which he answered, *That suddenly there would be no convenient opportunity. But his desire was that we would go with him to* Batavia, *where the General his Father would be very glad to see us.* Which was not in our power to deny. Then he commanded to call a *Dutch* Captain, who was over the Countreys adjacent, subject to their jurisdiction. To him he gave Order to take us home to his House, and there well to entertain us, and also to send for a Tailor to make us Cloths. Upon which I told him, his Kindness shewn us already was more than we could have desired; it would be a sufficient favour now to supply us with a little Money upon a Bill to be paid at Fort *S. George*, that we might therewith Cloth our selves. To which he answered, That he would not deny me any Sum I should demand, and Cloth us upon his own account besides. For which we humbly thanked his *Lordship*: and so took our leaves of him; and went home with the aforesaid Captain. Chap. 12. The Governor desires him to go to *Batavia*. Cloths them.

The Governor presently sent me Money by his Steward for Expences when we walked abroad in the City. We were nobly entertained without lack of any thing all the time we stayed at *Columbo*. My Consort's Ague increased, and grew very bad; but the chief Chirurgeon by order daily came to see him, and gave him such Potions of Physick, that by God's Blessing he soon after recovered. Sends them Money. And a Chirurgeon.

During my being here, I writ a Letter to my fellow Prisoners I left behind me in *Cande*. Wherein I described at large the way we went, so that they might plainly understand the same. Which I finding to be safe and secure, advised them, when God permitted, to steer the same course. This Letter I left with the new Governor, and desired him when opportunity presented, to send it to them. Who said he would have it Copied out into *Dutch* for the benefit of their Prisoners there, and promised to send both together. The Author writes a Letter to the *English* at *Cande*.

The Governor seemed to be pleased with my aforesaid Relations, and Replies to his Demands, insomuch that he afterwards appointed one that well understood *Portugueze* to write down all the former particulars. Which being done, for further satisfaction they brought me Pen and Paper, desiring me to write the same that I had related to them in *English*, and sign it with my hand, which I was not unwilling to do. The former Demands and Answers penned down in *Portugueze* by the Governor's order.

Upon the Governor's departure there were great and royal Feasts made. To which he always sent for me. Here were exceeding great Varieties of Food, Wine, and sweet Meats, and Musick. Some two and twenty days after our Arrival at *Columbo*, the Governor went on board ship to sail to *Batavia*, and took us with him. At which time there were many Scores of Ordnance fired. We Sailed all the way with Flag and Penant under it, being out both Day and Night, in a Ship of about Eight hundred Tuns Burthen; and a Soldier standing armed Sentinel at the Cabin door both Night and Day. He so far favoured me, that I was in his own Mess, and eat at his Table. Where every Meal we had Ten or Twelve Dishes of Meat with variety of Wine. We set Sail from *Columbo* the Four and twentieth of *November*, and the Fifth of *January* anchored in *Batavia* Road They Embark for *Batavia*.

As

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Part. IV.

His friendly Reception at *Batavia* with the Governor.

As we came to greater Men so we found greater Kindness; for the General of *Batavia*'s Reception of us, and favours to us exceeded (if possible) those of the Governor his Son. As soon as we came before him, seeming to be very glad, he took me by the hand and bad us heartily welcom, *thanking God on our behalf that had appeared so miraculously in our deliverance*; telling us withal, *That he had omitted no means for our Redemption, and that if it had layd in his Power, we should long before have had our Liberty.* I humbly thanked his Excellency, and said, *That I knew it to be true*; *and that tho it missed of an effect, yet his good will was not the less, neither were our Obligations, being ever bound to thank and pray for him.*

Furnishes them with the Cloths and Money.

Then his own Tailor was ordered to take measure of us, and furnish us with two Sutes of Apparel. He gave us also Moneys for *Tobacco* and *Betel*, and to spend in the City. All the time we stayed there, our Quarters were in the Captain of the Castle's House. And oftentimes the General would send for me to his own Table, at which sat only himself and Lady; who was all bespangled with Diamonds and Pearls. Sometimes his Sons and Daughters-in-Law, with some other Strangers did eat with him; the Trumpet sounding all the while. We finding our selves thus kindly entertained, and our Habits changed, saw, that we were no more Captives in *Cande*, nor yet Prisoners elsewhere; therefore cut off our Beards which we had brought with us out of our Captivity; for until then we cut them not; God having rolled away the reproach of *Cande* from us.

Here also they did examine me again concerning the passages of *Cande*, causing all to be writ down which I said, and requiring my hand to the same. Which I refused, as I had done before, and upon the same account, because I understood not the *Dutch* Language. Whereupon they persuaded me to write a Certificate upon another Paper under my Hand, that what I had informed them of, was true. Which I did. This Examination was taken by two Secretaries, who were appointed to demand Answers of me concerning the King of *Ceilon* and his Countrey: which they committed to Writing from my mouth.

Offer him passage in their Ships.

The General's youngest Son being to go home Admiral of the Ships this year, the General kindly offered us passage upon their Ships, promising me Entertainment at his Son's own Table, as the Governor of *Columbo* had given me in my Voyage hither. Which offer he made me, he said, *That I might better satisfie their Company in* Holland *concerning the Affairs of* Ceilon, *which they would be very glad to know.*

Come home from *Bantam* in the *Cæsar*.

At this time came two *English* Merchants hither from *Bantam*, with whom the General was pleased to permit us to go. But when we came to *Bantam*, the *English* Agent very kindly entertained us, and being not willing, that we should go to the *Dutch* for Passage, since God had brought us to our own Nation, ordered our Passage in the good Ship *Cæsar* lying then in the Road, bound for *England*, the Land of our Nativity, and our long wished for Port. Where by the good Providence of God we arrived safe in the Month of *September*.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIII.

Concerning some other Nations, and chiefly Europæans, *that now live in this Island.* Portugueze, Dutch.

HAving said all this concerning the *English* People, it may not be unacceptable to give some account of other *Whites*, who either voluntarily or by constraint Inhabit there. And they are, besides the *English* already spoken of, *Portugueze*, *Dutch*, and *French*. But before I enter upon Discourse of any of these, I shall detain my Readers a little with another Nation inhabiting in this Land, I mean, the *Malabars*; both because they are Strangers and derive themselves from another Countrey, and also because I have had occasion to mention them sometimes in this Book.

Concerning *Malabars* that inhabit in this Island.

These *Malabars* then are voluntary Inhabitants in this Island, and have a Countrey here; tho the Limits of it are but small: it lyes to the Northward of the King's Coasts betwixt him and the *Hollander*. *Corunda Wy* River parts it from the King's Territories. Thro this Countrey we passed, when we made our Escape. The Language they speak is peculiar to themselves, so that a *Chingulays* cannot understand them, nor they a *Chingulays*.

Their Territories.

Their Prince.

They have a Prince over them, called *Coilat wanned*, that is independent either upon the King of *Cande* on one hand, or the *Dutch* on the other, only that he pays an acknowledgment to the *Hollanders*. Who have endeavoured to subdue him by Wars, but they cannot yet do it: yet they have brought him to be a Tributary to them, *viz.* To pay a certain rate of Elephants *per annum*. The King and this Prince maintain a Friendship and Correspondence together. And when the King lately sent an Army against the *Hollanders*, this Prince let them pass thro his Countrey; and went himself in Person to direct the King's People, when they took one or two Forts from them.

The People how governed.

The People are in great subjection under him: they pay him rather greater Taxes than the *Chingulays* do to their King. But he is nothing so cruel. He Victualleth his Soldiers during the time they are upon the Guard, either about the Palace or abroad in the Wars: they are now fed at his Charge: whereas 'tis contrary in the King's Countrey; for the *Chingulay* Soldiers bear their own Expences. He hath a certain rate out of every Land that is sown, which is to maintain his Charge.

Their Commodities and Trade.

The Commodities of this Countrey are, Elephants, Hony, Butter, Milk, Wax, Cows, wild Cattel: of the three last great abundance. As for Corn it is more scarce than in the *Chingulays* Countrey; neither have they any Cotton. But they come up into. *Neure Caulava* yearly with great droves of Cattel, and lade both Corn and Cotton. And to buy these they bring up Cloth made of the same Cotton, which they can make better than the *Chingulays*: also they bring Salt and Salt Fish, and brass Basons, and other Commodities, which they get of the *Hollander*: because the King permits not his People to have any manner of Trade with the *Hollander*: so they receive the *Dutch* Commodities at the second hand.

We

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Part. IV. We now proceed unto the *Europæan* Nations. And we begin with the *Portugueze*, who deserve the first place, being the oldest Standers there.

Concerning the *Portugueze*. Their Power and Interest in this Island formerly.

The Sea-Coasts round about the Island were formerly under their Power and Government, and so held for many years. In which time many of the Natives became *Christians*, and learned the *Portugueze* Tongue. Which to this day is much spoken in that Land: for even the King himself understands and speaks it excellently well. The *Portugueze* have often made Invasions throughout the whole Land, even to *Cande* the *Metropolis* of the Island. Which they have burnt more than once, with the Palace and the Temples: and so formidable have they been, that the King hath been forced to turn *Tributary* to them, paying them three Elephants *per Annum*. However the middle of this Island, *viz. Cand' Uda*, standing upon Mountains, and so strongly fortified by Nature, could never be brought into subjection by them, much less by any other, but hath always been under the Power of their own Kings.

The great Wars between the King and them, force him to send in for the *Hollanders*.

There were great and long Wars between the King of *Ceilon* and the *Portugueze*: and many of the brave *Portugal* Generals are still in memory among them: of whom I shall relate some passages presently. Great vexation they gave the King by their irruptions into his Dominions, and the Mischiefs they did him, tho oftentimes with great loss on their side. Great Battels have been lost and won between them, with great destruction of Men on both parts. But being greatly distressed at last, he sent and called in the *Hollander* to his aid. By whose seasonable assistance together with his own Arms, the King totally dispossessed the *Portugueze*, and routed them out of the Land. Whose rooms the *Dutch* now occupy, paying themselves for their pains.

The King invites the *Portugueze* to live in his Countrey.

At the Surrender of *Columbo*, which was the last place the *Portugueze* held, the King made Proclamation, That all *Portugueze*, which would come unto him, should be well entertained. Which accordingly many did, with their whole Families, Wives, Children, and Servants, choosing rather to be under him than the *Dutch*, and divers of them are alive to this day, living in *Cande Uda*; and others are born there. To all whom he alloweth monthly maintenance; yea also, and Provisions for their Slaves and Servants, which they brought up with them. This People are privileged to Travel the Countreys above all other *Whites*, as knowing they will not run away. Also when there was a Trade at the Sea Ports, they were permitted to go down with Commodities, clear from all Customs and Duties. Besides these who came voluntarily to live under the King, there are others whom he took Prisoners. The *Portugueze* of the best Quality the King took into his Service, who are most of them since cut off according to his kind Custom towards his Courtiers. The rest of them have allowance from that King, and follow Husbandry, Trading about the Countrey, Stilling Rack, keeping Taverns; the Women sew Womens Wastcoats, the Men sew Mens Doublets for Sale.

Their Privileges.

Their Generals.

I shall now mention some of the last *Portugueze* Generals, all within this present King's Reign, with some passages concerning them.

Constantine

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Chap 13.

Constantine Sa, General of the *Portugals* Army in *Ceilon*, when the *Portugueze* had footing in this Land, was very successful against this present King. He run quite thro the Island unto the Royal City it self, which he set on Fire with the Temples therein. Insomuch that the King sent a Message to him signifying, that he was willing to become his Tributary. But he proudly sent him word back again, That that would not serve his turn; *He should not only be Tributary, but Slave to his Master the King of* Portugal. This the King of *Cande* could not brook, being of an high Stomach, and said, *He would fight to the last drop of Blood, rather than stoop to that.* There were at this time many Commanders in the Generals Army who were natural *Chingulays*; with these the King dealt secretly, assuring them that if they would turn on his side, he would gratifie them with very ample Rewards. The King's Promises took effect; and they all revolted from the General. The King now daring not to trust the Revolted, to make tryal of their Truth and Fidelity, put them in the forefront of his Battel, and commanded them to give the first Onset. The King at that time might have Twenty or Thirty thousand Men in the Field. Who taking their opportunity, set upon the *Portugueze* Army, and gave them such a total overthrow, that as they report in that Countrey not one of them escaped. The General seeing this Defeat, and himself like to be taken, called his Black Boy to give him water to drink, and snatching the Knife that stuck by his Boy's side, stabbed himself with it.

Constantine &c.

He loses a Victory and stabs himself.

Another General after him was *Lewis Tisséra*. He swore he would make the King eat *Coracan Tallipa*, that is a kind of *hasty Pudding*, made of Water and the *Coracan* Flower; which is reckoned the worst fare of that Island. The King afterwards took this *Lewis Tisséra*, and put him in Chains in the Common Goal, and made him eat of the same fare. And there is a *Ballad* of this Man and this passage, Sung much among the common People there to this day.

Lewis Tisséra served as he intended to serve the King.

Their next General was *Simon Caree*, a Natural *Chingulays*, but Baptized. He is said to be a great Commander. When he had got any Victory over the *Chingulays*, he did exercise great Cruelty. He would make the Women beat their own Children in their Mortars, wherein they used to beat their Corn.

Simon Caree, of a cruel Mind.

Gaspar Figari, had a *Portugueze* Father and *Chingulays* Mother. He was the last General they had in this Countrey. And a brave Soldier: but degenerated not from his Predecessors in Cruelty. He would hang up the People by the heels, and split them down the middle. He had his Axe wrapped in a white Cloth, which he carried with him into the Field to execute those he suspected to be false to him, or that ran away. Smaller Malefactors he was merciful to, cutting off only their right hands. Several whom he hath so served, are yet living, whom I have seen.

Gaspar Figari Splits Men in the middle.

This *Gaspar* came up one day to fight against the King, and the King resolved to fight him. The General fixed his Camp at *Motaupul* in *Hotteracourly*. And in order to the King's coming down to meet the *Portugueze*, Preparation was made for him at a place called *Cotacoppul*, which might be Ten or Twelve miles distant from the *Portugueze* Army. *Gaspar* knew of the place by some Spies; but of the time

His Policy.

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Part. IV. of the Kings coming he was informed, that it was a day sooner than really it happened. According to this information he resolved privatly to march thither, and come upon him in the night unawares. And because he knew the King was a Polititian, and would have his Spies abroad to watch the Generals motion, the General sent for all the Drummers and Pipers to Play and Dance in his Camp, that thereby the Kings Spies might not suspect that he was upon the March, but merry and secure in his Camp. In themean time, having set his People all to their Dancing and Drumming, he left a small party there to secure the Baggage, and away he goes in the night with his Army, and arrives to *Catta coppul*, intending to fall upon the King. But when he came thither, he found the King was not yet come: but into the Kings Tents he went, and sits him down in the seat appointed for the King. Here he heard where the King was with his Camp: which being not far off, he marched thither in the morning and fell upon him: and gave him one of the greatest Routs that ever he had. The King himself made a narrow escape; for had it not been for a *Dutch* Company, which the *Dutch* had sent a little before for his Guard, who after his own Army fled, turned head and stopped the *Portugueze* for a while, he had been seized. The *Portugueze* General was so near the King, that he called after him, *Houre*, that is *Brother*, *stay*, *I would speak with you*, but the King being got a top of the Hills; was safe. And so *Gaspar* retyred to his Quarters.

Gives the King a great overthrow.

This Gallant expert Commander, that had so often vanquished the *Chingulays*, could not cope with another *Europæan* Nation. For when the *Hollanders* came to beseige *Columbo*, he was sent against them with his Army. They told him before he went, that now he must look to himself, for he was not now to Fight against *Chingulays*, but against Soldiers, that would look him in the Face. But he made nothing of them, and said, he would serve them as he had served the *Chingulays*. The *Hollanders* met him, and they fought: but had before contrived a Stratagem, which he was not aware of: they had placed some *Field-pieces* in the Rear of their Army. And after a small skirmish they retreated as if they had been worsted; which was only to draw the *Portugueze* nearer upon their Guns. Which when they had brought them in shot of, they opened on a suddain to the right and left, and fired upon them, and so routed them, and drove them into *Columbo*. This *Gaspar* was in the City when it was taken, and himself taken Prisoner. Who was afterwards sent to *Goa*, where he died. And so much of the *Portugueze*.

Looses *Columbo*, and taken Prisoner.

The *Dutch* the occasion of their coming in.

The *Dutch* succeeded the *Portugueze*. The first occasion of whose coming into this Land was, that the present King being wearied and overmatched with the *Portugueze*, sent for them into his aid long ago from *Batavia*. And they did him good service, but they feathered their own nests by the means, and are now possessed of all the Sea-Coasts, and considerable Territories thereunto adjoyning.

The King their inplacable enemy, and why!

The King of the Countrey keeps up an irreconcileable War against them. The occasion of which is said to be this. Upon the beseiging of *Columbo*, which was about the year MDCLV. it was concluded upon between the King and the *Dutch*, that their Enemies the *Portugueze* being expelled thence, the City was to be delivered up by the *Dutch* into the Kings hands. Whereupon the King himself in person

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person with all his Power went down to this War to assist and joyn with the *Hollanders*, without whose help, as it is generally reported, the *Dutch* could not have taken the City. But being surrendred to them, and they gotten into it, the King lay looking, when they would come according to their former Articles, and put him into possession of it. Mean while they turned on a suddain & fell upon him, contrary to his expectation (whether the King had first broke word with them,) and took Bag and Baggage from him: Which provoked him in so high a manner, that he maintains a constant hostility against them, detains their Ambassadours, and forbids his People upon pain of Death to hold Commerce with them. Chap. 13.

The dammage the King does them.

So that the *Dutch* have enough to do to maintain those places which they have. Oftentimes the King at unawares falls upon them and does them great spoil, sometimes giving no quarter, but cutting off the Heads of whomsoever he catches, which are brought up, and hung upon Trees near the City, many of which I have seen. Sometimes he brings up his Prisoners alive, and keeps them by the Highway sides, a spectacle to the People in memory of his Victories over them: many of these are now living there in a most miserable condition, having but a very small Allowance from him; so that they are forced to be, and it is a favour when they can get leave to go abroad and do it.

The means they use to obtain Peace with him.

The *Dutch* therefore not being able to deal with him by the Sword, being unacquainted with the Woods and the *Chingulays* manner of fighting, do endeavour for Peace with him all they can, dispatching divers Embassadours to him, and sending great Presents, by carrying Letters to him in great State wrapped up in Silks wrought with Gold and Silver, bearing them all the way upon their Heads in token of great Honour, honouring him with great and high Titles, subscribing themselves his Subjects and Servants, telling him the Forts they build are out of Loyalty to him, to secure his Majesties Country from Forraign Enemies; and that when they come up into his Countrey, tis to seek maintenance. And by these Flatteries and submissions they sometimes obtain to keep what they keep what they have gotten from him, and sometimes nothing will prevail, he neither regarding their Embassadours nor receiving the Presents, but taking his opportunities on a suddain of setting on them by his Forces.

How he took *Bibligom* Fort.

His Craft and Success in taking *Bibligom* Fort in the County of *Habberagon*, may deserve to be mentioned. The *Chingulays* had beseiged the Fort: and knowing the *Dutch* had no Water there; but all they had was conveyed thro a Trench wrought under Ground from a River near by, they beseiged them so close, and planted so many Guns towards the mouth of this Trench, that they could not come out to fetch Water. They cut down Wood also, and made bundles of Faggots therewith, which they piled up round about their Fort at some distance, and every night removed them nearer and nearer. So that their works became higher than the Fort. Their main intent by these Faggot-works, was to have brought them just under the Fort, and then to have set it on Fire, the Walls of the Fort being for the most part of Wood. There was also a *Bo-gahah* Tree growing just by the Fort: on which they planted Guns and shot right down into them. The houses in the Fort being Thatched, they shot also

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Part. IV. Fire-Arrows among them : So that the beſeiged were forced to pull off the Straw from their Houſes, which proved a great inconvenience to them being a Rainy Seaſon : ſo that they lay open to the weather and cold. The *Dutch* finding themſelves in this extremity deſired quarter which was granted them at the Kings mercy. They came out and laid down their Arms, all but the Officers, who ſtill wore theirs. None were plundered of any thing they had about them. The Fort they demoliſhed to the Ground. and brought up the Four Guns to the Kings Palace; where they among others ſtand mounted in very brave Carriages before his Gate.

The *Dutch* were brought two or three days journey from the Fort into the Countrey they call *Owvah*: and there were placed with a Guard about them, having but a ſmall allowance appointed them; inſomuch that afterwards having ſpent what they had, they periſhed for Hunger. So that of about ninety *Hollanders* taken Priſoners, there were not above five and twenty living when I came away.

Several Embaſſadors detained by the King.

There are ſeveral *white* Embaſſadours, beſides other *Chingulay* People, by whom the *Dutch* have ſent Letters and preſents to the King, whom he keeps from returning back again. They are all beſtowed in ſeveral houſes with Soldiers to Guard them : And tho they are not in Chains, yet none is permitted to come to them or ſpeak with them; it not being the cuſtom of that Land for any to come to the ſpeech of Embaſſadours. Their allowance is brought them ready dreſſed out of the Kings Palace, being all ſorts of Varieties, that the Land affords. After they have remained in this condition ſome years, the Guards are ſomewhat ſlackned, and the Soldiers that are to watch them grow remiſs in their Duty; ſo that now the Ambaſſadours walk about the Streets, and any body goes to their houſes and talks with them: that is, after they have been ſo long in the Countrey, that all their news is ſtale and grown out of date. But this liberty is only winked at, not allowed. When they have been there a great while, the King uſually gives them Slaves, both men and women, the more to alienate their minds from their own Country, and that they may ſtay with him with the more willingneſs and content. For his deſign is,to make them, if he can, inclinable to ſerve him. As he prevailed with one of theſe Embaſſadours to do for the love of a woman. The manner of it I ſhall relate immediatly.

There are five Embaſſadors whom he hath thus detained ſince my coming there; of each of whom I ſhall ſpeak a little,beſides two,whom he ſent away voluntarily.

The firſt Embaſſador there detained ſince the Authors remembrance.

The firſt of theſe was ſent up by the *Hollanders* ſome time before the Rebellion againſt the King; Who had detained him in the City. After the Rebellion the King ſent for him to him to the Mountain of *Gauluda* whither he had retreated from the Rebels.The King not long after removed to *Digligy*,where he now keeps hisCourt,but left theEmbaſſador at *Gauluda* remaining by himſelf, with a Guard of Soldiers. In this uncomfortable condition, upon a diſmal Mountain void of all ſociety, he continued many days. During which time a *Chingulay* and his Wife falls out, and ſhe being diſcontented with her Husband to eſcape from him flies to this Embaſſadors houſe for ſhelter. The woman being ſomewhat beautiful, he fell greatly in love with her.

And

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And to obtain her he sent to the King, and profered him his service, if he would permit him to enjoy her company, Which the King was very willing and glad to do, having now obtained that which he had long aimed at, to get him into his service.

His preferment, and death.

Hereupon the King sent him word that he granted his desire, and withall sent to both of them rich Apparel. and to her many Jewels and Bracelets of Gold and Silver. Suddainly after there was a great House prepared from them in the City, furnished with all kind of furniture out of the Kings Treasure and at his proper cost and charges. Which being finished he was brought away from his Mountain into it. But from thence forward never saw his Wife more, according to the custom of Court. And he was entertained in the Kings Service, and made *Courtalbad*, which is cheif over all the Smiths and Carpenters in *Cande Uda*. Some short time after the King about to send his Forces against a Fort of the *Hollanders*, called *Arundery* built by them in the year MDCLXVI. He tho in the Kings service, yet being a well wisher to his Countrey, had privatly sent a Letter of advice to the *Dutch* concerning the Kings intention and purpose, an Answer to which was intercepted and brought to the King, wherein *thanks was returned him from the* Dutch *for his Loyalty to his own Nation, and nhut they would accordingly prepare for the Kings assault*. The King having this Letter, sent for him, and bad him read it, which he excused pretending it was so written, that he could not. Whereupon immediatly another *Dutchman* was sent for, who read it before the King, and told him the Contents of it. At which it is reported the King should say, *Beia pas mettandi hitta pas ettandi*, That is, *He serves me for fear, and them for love* ; or *his fear is here and his love is there* ; And forth with commanded to carry him forth to Execution : which was accordingly done upon him. Tis generally said, that this Letter was framed by some body on purpose to ruine him.

The next Embassador dying there his Body is sent down to *Columbo* in great State.

The next Ambassador after him was *Hendrick Draak* ; a fine Gentleman, and good friend of the *English*. This was he who was Commissioned in the year MDCLXIV. to intercede with the King on the behalf of the *English*, that they might have liberty to go home, and with him they were made to beleive they should return : which happened at the same time that Sir *Edward Winter* sent his Letters to the King for us. VVhich I have already spoke of in the fifth Chapter of this *Part*. This Embassador was much in the Kings favour, with whom he was detained till he died. And then the King sent his Body down to *Columbo* carried in a *Pallenkine* with great State and Lamention, and accompanied with his great Commanders, and many Soldiers.

The third Embassador. Gets away by his resolution.

Sometime after the loss of the Fort of *Arrundery* which was about the year MDCLXX. the *Dutch* sent up another Embassador to see if he could obtain a Peace, which was the first time their Embassadors began to bring up Letters upon their heads in token of extraordinary reverence. This man was much favoured by the King, and was entertained with great Ceremony and Honour, cloathing him in *Chingulay* Habit, Which I never knew done before nor since. But being weary of his long stay, and of the delays that were made ; having often made motions to go down, and still he was deferred from day to day,

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Part IV. at length he made a resolution, that if he had not leave by such a day, he would go without it; saying *that the former Embassador who died there, died like a Woman, but it should bo seen that he would die like a man.* At the appointed day, he girt on his Sword, and repaired to the Gates of the Kings Palace, pulling off his Hat, and making his obeysance as if the King were present before him, and thanking him for the Favours and Honours he had done him, and so took his leave. And there being some *Englishmen* present, he generously gave them some money to drink his Health; and in this resolute manner departed, with some two or three Black-servants that attended on him. The upshot of which was, that the King, not being willing to prevent his resolution by Violence, sent one of his Noblemen to conduct him down; and so he had the good fortune to get home safely to *Columbo.*

The fourth was of a milder Nature.

The next Ambassador after him was *John Baptista.* A Man of a milder Spirit than the former, endeavouring to please and shew compliance with the King. He obtained many Favours of the King, and several Slaves both Men and Women. And living well with Servants about him, is the more patient in waiting the King's leisure till he pleaseth to send him home.

The fifth brings a Lion to the King as a Present.

The last Embassador that came up while I was there, brought up a *Lion:* which the *Dutch* thought would be the most acceptable Present that they could send to the King, as indeed did all others. It was but a Whelp. But the King did never receive it, supposing it not so famous as he had heard by Report *Lions* were. This Man with his *Lion* was brought up and kept in the County of *Oudapollat,* near Twenty Miles from the King's Court. Where he remained about a year, in which time the *Lion* died. The Embassador being weary of living thus like a Prisoner with a Guard always upon him, often attempted to go back, seeing the King would not permit him Audience. But the Guards would not let him. Having divers times made disturbances in this manner to get away home, the King commanded to bring him up into the City to an House that was prepared for him, standing some distance from the Court. Where having waited many days, and seeing no sign of Audience, he resolved to make his Appearance before the King by force, which he attempted to do, when the King was abroad taking his Pleasure. The Soldiers of his Guard immediately ran, and acquainted the Noblemen at Court of his coming, who delayed not to acquaint the King thereof. Whereupon the King gave Order forthwith to meet him, and where they met him, in that same place to stop him till further order. And there they kept him, not letting him go either forward or backward. In this manner and place he remained for three days, till the King sent Order that he might return to his House whence he came. This the King did to tame him. But afterwards he was pleased to call him before him. And there he remained when I left the Countrey, maintained with Plenty of Provisions at the King's charge.

The number of *Dutch* there.

The number of *Dutch* now living there may be about Fifty or Sixty. Some whereof are Ambassadors, some Prisoners of War, some Runaways, and Malefactors that have escaped the hand of Justice and got away from the *Dutch* Quarters. To all whom are allotted respective allowances, but the Runaways have the least, the King not loving [illegible] tho giving them entertainment.

The

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The *Dutch* here love Drink, and practise their proper Vice in this Countrey. One who was a great Man in the Court, would sometimes come into the. King's Presence half disguised with Drink, which the King often past over; but once asked him, *Why do you thus disorder your self, that when I send for you about my Business, you are not in a capacity to serve me?* He boldly replied, *That as soon as his Mother took away her Milk from him, she supplied it with Wine, and ever since,* saith he, *I have used my self to it.* With this answer the King seemed to be pleased. And indeed the rest of the *white Men* are generally of the same temper: insomuch that the *Chingulays* have a saying, *That Wine is as natural to* white Men, *as Milk to Children.* Chap. 14

They follow their Vice of Drinking.

All differences of Ranks and Qualities are disregarded among those *Chingulay* People that are under the *Dutch*. Neither do the *Dutch* make any distinction between the *Hondrews*, and the low and Inferior *Casts* of Men: and permit them to go in the same Habit, and sit upon Stools, as well as the best *Hondrews*; and the lower Ranks may eat and intermarry with the higher without any Punishment, or any Cognizance taken of it. Which is a matter that the *Chingulays* in *Cand' Uda* are much offended with the *Dutch* for; and makes them think, that they themselves are sprung from some mean Rank and Extract. And this prejudiceth this People against them, that they have not such an Esteem for them. For to a *Chingulay* his Rank and Honour is as dear as his life. And thus much of the *Dutch*.

The *Chingulays* prejudiced against the *Dutch*, and why.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the French: *With some Enquiries what should make the King detain white Men as he does. And how the Christian Religion is maintained among the Christians there.*

About the year MDCLXXII. or LXXIII, there came Fourteen Sail of great Ships from the King of *France* to settle a Trade here. *Monsieur De la Hay* Admiral, put in with this Fleet, into the Port of *Cottiar*. From whence he sent up Three men by way of Embassy to the King of *Cande*. Whom he entertained very Nobly, and gave every one of them a Chain of Gold about their Necks, and a Sword all inlay'd with Silver, and a Gun. And afterwards sent one of them down to the Admiral with his Answer. Which encouraged him to send up others: that is, an Ambassador and six more. Who were to reside there till the return of the Fleet back again, being about to Sail to the *Coast*.

The *French* come hither with a Fleet.

To the Fleet the King sent all manner of Provision, as much as his Ability could afford: and not only permitted but assisted them to build a Fort in the Bay. Which they manned partly with their own People, and partly with *Chingulays*, whom the King sent and lent the *French*. But the Admiral finding that the King's Provisions, and what else could be bought in the Island would not suffice for so great a Fleet, was forced to depart for the Coast of *Coromandel*; promising the

To whom the King sends Provisions, and helps them to build a Fort.

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Part. IV. the King, by the Ambaſſador afore-mentioned, ſpeedily to return again. So leaving ſome of his Men with the King's Supplies to keep the Fort till his return; he weighed Anchor, and ſet ſail. But never came back again. Some reported they were deſtroyed by a Storm, others by the *Dutch*. The Admiral had ſent up to the King great Preſents, but he would not preſently receive them, that it might not ſeem as if he wanted any thing, or were greedy of things brought him: but ſince the *French* returned not according to their promiſe, he ſcorned ever after to receive them. At firſt he neglected the Preſent out of State, and ever ſince out of Anger and Indignation. This *French* Fort at *Cotiar* was a little after eaſily taken by the *Dutch*.

The *French* Ambaſſador offends the King.

But to return to the Embaſſador and his Retinue. He rode up from *Cotiar* on Horſeback, which was very Grand in that Countrey. And being with his Company gotten ſomewhat ſhort of the City, was appointed there to ſtay, until an Houſe ſhould be prepared in the City for their Entertainment. When it was ſignified to him that their Houſe was ready for their Reception, they were conducted forward by certain Noblemen ſent by the King, carrying with them a Preſent for his Majeſty. The Ambaſſador came riding on Horſe-back into the City. Which the Noblemen obſerving, diſſuaded him from, and adviſed him to walk on foot; telling him, It was not allowable, nor the Cuſtom. But he regarding them not, rode by the Palace Gate. It offended the King, but he took not much notice of it for the preſent.

He refuſes to wait longer for Audience.

The Ambaſſador alighted at his Lodgings. Where he and his Companions were nobly Entertained, Proviſions ſent them ready Dreſſed out of the King's Palace three times a day, great Plenty they had of all things the Countrey afforded. After ſome time the King ſent to him to come to his Audience. In great State he was Conducted to the Court, accompanied with ſeveral of the Nobles that were ſent to him. Coming thus to the Court in the Night, as it is the King's uſual manner at that Seaſon to ſend for foreign Miniſters, and give them Audience, he waited there ſome ſmall time, about two hours or leſs, the King not yet admitting him. Which he took in ſuch great diſdain, and for ſuch an affront, that he was made to ſtay at all, much more ſo long, that he would tarry no longer but went towards his Lodging. Some about the Court obſerving this, would have ſtopped him by Elephants that ſtood in the Court turning them before the Gate thro which he was to paſs. But he would not ſo be ſtopped, but laid his hand upon his Sword, as if he meant to make his way by the Elephants; the People ſeeing his reſolution, called away the Elephants and let him paſs.

Which more diſpleaſed the King. Clapt in Chains.

As ſoon as the King heard of it, he was highly diſpleaſed; inſomuch that he commanded ſome of his Officers, that they ſhould go and beat them, and clap them in Chains: which was immediately done to all excepting the two Gentlemen, that were firſt ſent up by the Admiral: for theſe were not touched, the King reckoning they did not belong unto this Ambaſſador; neither were they now in his Company; excepting that one of them in the Combuſtion got a few Blows. They were likewiſe diſarmed, and ſo have continued ever ſince. Upon this the Gentlemen, Attendants upon the Embaſſador, made

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made their Complaints to the Captain of their Guards, excusing themselves, and laying all the blame upon their Ambassador; urging, *That they were his Attendants, and a Soldier must obey his Commander and go where he appoints him.* Which sayings being told the King, he approved thereof, and commanded them out of Chains, the Ambassador still remaining in them, and so continued for six Months. After which he was released of his Chains by means of the Intreaties his own men made to the great Men in his behalf. Chap. 14.

The rest of the *French* men, seeing how the Embassador's imprudent carriage had brought them to this misery, refused any longer to dwell with him. And each of them by the King's Permission dwells by himself in the City; being maintained at the King's charge. Three of these, whose Names were *Monsieur Du Plessy*, Son to a Gentleman of note in *France*, and *Jean Bloom*, the third whose Name I cannot tell, but was the Ambassador's Boy, the King appointed to look to his best Horse, kept in the Palace. This Horse sometime after died, as it is supposed of old Age. Which extremely troubled the King; and imagining they had been instrumental to his Death by their carelessness, he commanded two of them, *Monsieur Du Plessy* and *Jean Bloom* to be carried away into the Mountains, and kept Prisoners in Chains, where they remained when I came thence. The rest of the *French* refuse to dwell with the Ambassador.

The rest of them follow Employments; some whereof Still Rack, and keep the greatest Taverns in the City.

Lately, a little before I came from the Island; the King understanding the disagreements and differences that were still kept on foot betwixt the Ambassador and the rest of his Company, disliked it and used these means to make them Friends. He sent for them all, the Ambassador and the rest, and told them, *That it was not seemly for Persons as they were at such a distance from their own Countrey, to quarrel and fall out; and that if they had any love for God, or the King of* France, *or himself, that they should go home with the Ambassador and agree and live together.* They went back together, not daring to disobey the King. And as soon as they were at home, the King sent a Banquet after them of Sweetmeats and Fruits to eat together. They did eat the King's Banquet, but it would not make the Reconcilement. For after they had done, each man went home and dwelt in their own Houses as they did before. It was thought that this carriage would offend the King, and that he would at least take away their Allowance. And it is probable before this time the King hath taken Vengeance on them. But the Ambassador's carriage is so imperious, that they would rather venture whatsoever might follow than be subject to him. And in this case I left them. The King uses means to reconcile the *French* to their Ambassador.

Since my return to *England*, I presumed by a Letter to inform the *French* Ambassador then in *London* of the aboveSaid Matters, thinking my self bound in Conscience and Christian Charity to do my endeavour, that their Friends knowing their Condition, may use means for their Deliverance. The Letter ran thus, The Author acquaints the *French* Ambassador in *London*, with the condition of these Men.

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Part IV.

These may acquaint your Excellency, That having been a Prisoner in the Island of Ceilon, *under the King of that Countrey near Twenty years; by means of this my long detainment there, I became acquainted with the* French *Ambassador, and the other Gentlemen his Retinue; being in all Eight Persons; who was sent to Treat with the said King in the Year* MDCLXXII. *by Monsieur* De la Hay, *who came with a Fleet to the Port of* Cotiar *or* Trinkemalay, *from whence he sent these Gentlemen. And knowing that from thence it is scarce possible to send any Letters or Notice to other Parts, for in all the time of my Captivity I could never send one word, whereby my Friends here might come to hear of my Condition, until with one more I made an Escape, leaving Sixteen* English *men yet there; The Kindness I have received from those* French *Gentlemen, as also my Compassion for them, being detained in the same place with me, hath obliged and constrained me, to presume to trouble your Lordship with this Paper; not knowing any other means whereby I might convey Notice to their Friends and Relations, which is all the Service I am able to perform for them. The Ambassador's Name I know not; there is a Kinsman of his called* Monsieur le Serle, *and a yong Gentleman called* Monsieur du Plessey, *and another named* Monsieur la Roche. *The rest by Name I know not.* And then an account of them is given according to what I have mentioned above. *I shall not presume to be farther tedious to your Honour; craving Pardon for my boldness, which my Affection to those Gentlemen being detained in the same Land with me hath occasioned. Concerning whom if your Lordship be pleased farther to be informed, I shall be both willing and ready to be,*

Yours, &c.

The Ambassador upon the receipt of this, desired to speak with me.. Upon whom I waited, and he after some Speech with me told me he would send word into *France* of it, and gave me Thanks for this my Kindness to his Countreymen.

An inqulry into the reason of this King's detaing *Europæans.*

It may be worth some inquiry, what the reason might be, that the King detains the *Europæan* People as he does. It cannot be out of hope of Profit or Advantage; for they are so far from bringing him any, that they are a very great Charge, being all maintained either by him or his People. Neither is it in the power of Money to redeem any one, for that he neither needs nor values. Which makes me conclude, it is not out of Profit, nor Envy or ill will, but out of Love and Favour, that he keeps them, delighting in their Company, and to have them ready at his Command. For he is very ambitious of the Service of these Men, and winks at many of their failings, more than he uses to do towards his Natural Subjects.

The King's gentleness towards his white Soldiers.

As may appear from a Company of *White Soldiers* he hath, who upon their Watch used to be very negligent, one lying Drunk here and another there. Which remisness in his own Soldiers he would scarce have indured, but it would have cost them their lives.

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lives. But with these he useth more Craft than Severity to make them more watchful. Chap. 14.

They watch at his Magazine.

These Soldiers are under two Captains, the one a *Dutch* man and the other a *Portugueze*. They are appointed to Guard one of the King's Magazines, where they always keep Sentinel both by Day and Night. This is a pretty good distance from the Court, and here it was the King contrived their Station, that they might swear and swagger out of his hearing, and that no body might disturb them, nor they no body. The *Dutch* Captain lyes at one side of the Gate, and the *Portugueze* at the other.

How craftily the King corrected their Negligence.

Once the King to employ these his *white Soldiers*, and to honour them by letting them see what an assurance he reposed in them, sent one of his Boys thither to be kept Prisoner, which they were very Proud of. They kept him two years, in which time he had learnt both the *Dutch* and *Portugueze* Language. Afterwards the King retook the Boy into his Service, and within a short time after Executed him. But the King's reason in sending this Boy to be kept by these Soldiers was, probably not as they supposed, and as the King himself outwardly pretended, *viz.* To shew how much he confided in them, but out of Design to make them look the better to their Watch, which their Debauchery made them very remiss in. For the Prisoners Hands only were in Chains, and not his Legs; so that his possibility of running away, having his Legs at liberty, concerned them to be circumspect and wakeful. And they knew if he had escaped it were as much as their lives were worth. By this crafty and kind way did the King correct the negligence of his *white Soldiers*.

The King's Inclinations are towards white Men.

Indeed his inclinations are much towards the *Europæans*; making them his great Officers, accounting them more faithful and trusty than his own People. With these he often discourses concerning the Affairs of their Countreys, and promotes them to places far above their Ability, and sometimes their Degree or Desert. And indeed all over the Land they do bear as it were a natural respect and reverence to *White Men*, in as much as *Black*, they hold to be inferior to *White*. And they say, the Gods are *White*, and that the Souls of the Blessed after the Resurrection shall be *White*; and therefore, that *Black* is a rejected and accursed colour.

The colour of white honoured in this Land.

Their Privilege above the Natives.

And as further signs of the King's favour to them, there are many Privileges, which *White Men* have and enjoy, as tolerated or allowed them from the King; which I suppose may proceed from the aforesaid Consideration; as, to wear any manner of Apparel, either Gold, Silver, or Silk, Shoes and Stockings, a shoulder Belt and Sword; their Houses may be whitened with Lime, and many such like things, all which the *Chingulayes* are not permitted to do.

The King loves to send and talk with them.

He will also sometimes send for them into his Presence, and discourse familiarly with them, and entertain them with great Civilities, especially white Ambassadors. They are greatly chargeable unto his Countrey, but he regards it not in the least. So that the People are more like Slaves unto us than we unto the King. In as much as they are inforced by his Command to bring us maintenance. Whose Poverty is so great oftentimes, that for want of

what

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Part IV. what they ſupply us with, themſelves, their Wives, and Children, are forced to ſuffer hunger, this being as a due Tax impoſed upon them to pay unto us. Neither can they by any Power or Authority refuſe the Payment hereof to us. For in my own hearing the People once complaining of their Poverty and Inability to give us any longer our Allowance, the Magiſtrate or Governor replied, It was the King's ſpecial Command, and who durſt cnannul it. And if otherwiſe they could not ſupply us with our maintenance, he bad them ſell their Wives and Children, rather than we ſhould want of our due. Such is the favour that Almighty God hath given Chriſtian People in the ſight of this Heathen King; whoſe entertainment and uſage of them is thus favourable.

How they maintain Chriſtianity among them.

If any enquire into the Religious exerciſe and Worſhip practiſed among the Chriſtians here, I am ſorry I muſt ſay it, I can give but a ſlender account. For they have no Churches nor no Prieſts, and ſo no meetings together on the Lord's Dayes for Divine Worſhip, but each one Reads or Prays at his own Houſe as he is diſpoſed. They *Sanctifie* the Day chiefly by refraining work, and meeting together at Drinking-houſes. They continue the practice of *Baptiſm*; and there being no Prieſts, they Baptize their Children themſelves with Water, and uſe the words, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*; and give them Chriſtian Names. They have their Friends about them at ſuch a time, and make a ſmall Feaſt according to their Ability: and ſome teach their Children to ſay their Prayers, and to Read, and ſome do not.

In ſome things they comply with the worſhip of the Heathen.

Indeed their Religion at the beſt is but Negative, that is, they are not Heathen, they do not comply with the Idolatry here practiſed; and they profeſs themſelves Chriſtians in a general manner, which appears by their *Names*, and by their *Beads* and *Croſſes* that ſome of them wear about their Necks. Nor indeed can I wholly clear them from complyance with the Religion of the Countrey. For ſome of them when they are Sick do uſe the Ceremonies which the Heathen do in the like caſe, as in making Idols of clay, and ſetting them up in their Houſes, and Offering Rice to them, and having Weavers to Dance before them. But they are aſhamed to be known to do this; and I have known none to do it, but ſuch as are *Indians* born. Yet I never knew any of them, that do inwardly in Heart and Conſcience incline to the ways of the Heathen, but perfectly abhor them: nor have there been any, I ever heard of, that came to their Temples upon any Religious account, but only would ſtand by and look on; without it were one old Prieſt named *Padre Vergonce*, a *Genoez* born, and of the *Jeſuits* Order, who would go to the Temples, and eat with the Weavers and other ordinary People of the Sacrifices offered to the Idols: but with this Apology for himſelf, *that he eat it as common Meat, and as God's Creature, and that it was never the worſe for their Superſtition that had paſt upon it.* But however this may reflect upon the Father, another thing may be related for his Honour. There happened two Prieſts to fall into the hands of the King; on whom he conferred great Honours; for having laid aſide their Habits they

An old Prieſt uſed to eat of their Sacrifices.

kept

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kept about his Person, and were the greatest Favourites at Court. The King one day sent for *Vergonse*, and asked him, if it would not be better for him to lay aside his old Coat and Cap, and to do as the other two Priests had done, and receive Honour from him. He replied to the King, *That he boasted more in that old habit and in the Name of* Jesus, *than in all the honour that he could do him.* And so refused the King's Honour. The King valued the Father for this saying. He had a pretty Library about him, and died in his Bed of old Age: whereas the two other Priests in the King's Service died miserably, one of a *Canker*, and the other was slain. The old Priest had about Thirty or Forty Books, which the King, they say, seized on after his Death, and keeps. Chap. 14.

These Priests, and more lived there, but all deceased, excepting *Vergonse*, before my time. The King allowed them to build a Church; which they did, and the *Portugueze* assembled there, but they made no better than a Bawdy-house of it; for which cause the King commanded to pull it down. The King permitted the *Portugueze* to build a Church.

Although here be *Protestants* and *Papists*, yet here are no differences kept up among them, but they are as good Friends, as if there were no such Parties. And there is no other Distinctions of Religion there, but only *Heathens* and *Christians*: and we usually say, *We Christians.*

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